

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY



117 324

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

THE DILEMMA OF SOUTH AFRICA

The Dilemma of South Africa

by

John Hatch

London

DENNIS DOBSON LTD.

•

FIRST PUBLISHED IN GREAT BRITAIN IN MCMLII
BY DENNIS DOBSON LTD., 12 PARK PLACE, ST JAMES'S, LONDON, SW1.
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED
PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY THE CARLYLE PRESS, BIRMINGHAM, 6
273/R

•

CONTENTS

Foreword	<i>page</i> 11
Introduction	13
I Problems of a Nation	17
II The Solution of the Nationalist Intellectuals	28
III H.N.P.—The Reunited National Party	37
IV The Nationalist Government in Action	51
V Ministers, Members and Civil Servants	82
VI The Party of General Smuts	102
VII The Torch Commando	119
VIII Other Forms of European Opposition	125
IX Gold and Skyscrapers—Dung andhovels	145
X The Native African and his Politics	171
XI The Cape Coloured Intellectuals	189
XII The Coloured Common People	206
XIII Africa Meets Asia	217
XIV The African Continent, the Commonwealth and the World	228
Notes—Bringing text up to date (Feb. 1952)	245
Note on Effect of Supreme Court's Ruling	251
Index	253

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Appearing between pages 112 and 113

The author outside Union Buildings, Pretoria
Women in Pondoland
Women in Natal
Union Buildings, Pretoria
View of Moroka, a native settlement
Venda children dancing
Old man drinking tea
Bantu Social Centre, Durban
Venda girls dancing
At home in the Mahashini District
At home at Zwelitsha
The old way at Pietersburg
The new way at Kimberley
Children at home in Kimberley
Children at school in Johannesburg
Johannesburg suburb
Tato Manor, Durban
Downtown Durban
Water supply and drainage system at Moroka
Cookery classes at Dovedale Institution
Cooking in Kensington
Waiting for a Pass, Johannesburg
Native College, Fort Hare
Church in Windermere
Old Church at Tulbagh
Valley of a Thousand Hill, Natal
Native Agricultural School, Pretoria
Settlement in Windermere
Hostel for male workers at Merebank, Durban
Native Reserves in West Pondoland
Johannesburg

TO MY MOTHER,
WHO MADE THIS BOOK POSSIBLE
and
TO MILDRED, WHO INSPIRED IT

FOREWORD

THE MATERIAL FOR this book was mainly collected on a study tour which I made of the Union of South Africa in 1950. This tour was made possible largely through the generous assistance of Sir Hector Hetherington, Principal of Glasgow University, and his committee, and I should like to express here my deep appreciation for this invaluable support and encouragement.

I am also indebted to the Extra-Mural Committee of Glasgow University and its Director, Dr W. S. Evans, for granting me the necessary leave of absence to make the journey.

My study of South Africa and its problems has been made much easier by the valuable advice given to me by Professor Eric Walker, from whom I derived my first academic knowledge of the country, and by Professor W. M. Macmillan, who readily put his extensive experience of the country at my disposal. My gratitude is due to both, though, of course, they have no responsibility for any opinions or views contained herein.

My thanks are also due to Miss Mary Junor of Glasgow for her very generous and skilful assistance with the manuscript.

It was my intention on this tour to collect research material, not to write a book. I was persuaded to do so by South Africans themselves, for they assured me that my experiences were unusual and that I had seen far more of the life of the country than most South Africans ever do. But I must point out that this is not intended to be a comprehensive or profound analysis of the complex problems of the country. It simply consists of the impressions of an observer who went to study, not to preach, to understand and explain, not to provide one-man solutions.

In terminology, which is particularly difficult in the South African context, I have tried to adopt a word usage acceptable to each community described. Thus 'African' and 'Native' are used synonymously in different contexts because of South African

peculiarities and difficulty in particular phrases. In quotations, of course, the responsibility for use of words rests on other shoulders. I apologize in advance for any inadvertent failure to maintain this principle.

I should like to thank all those kindly people, Africans, Afrikaners, Coloureds, British South Africans, Indians, who gave me such very warm hospitality and assisted me so generously in collecting the information which I sought.

INTRODUCTION

I WOKE AT A quarter past five in the morning. For the first time in a fortnight the ship was still and silent. Quickly I dressed and hurried on deck to catch my first glimpse of the famed, mysterious, and troubled land whose history and problems had been my concern for many years.

The early morning scene could not have been more beautiful. We were quietly swaying at anchor well out in Table Bay; above us sailed the last crescent of the old moon, high in the deep purple sky, closely attended by a brilliant Venus; before us stretched the full semi-circle of the Bay itself, silhouetted by its shore lights against the dark background bulk of the mountains; intermittently flashes of neon lighting could be seen within the city, giving striking illumination to half-seen tall buildings; above all, vaguely sensed in the moonlight, the dominating presence of the great Table Mountain loomed over the whole scene. Here was the gateway to that beautiful, mysterious, challenging land of South Africa.

I had finished my lecture over an hour ago and ever since had been listening to the audience. Having specialized in South African history at Cambridge and written various articles on the subject, I was constantly asked for information on the South African scene, particularly when a riot had been reported in the Press, or her policy had been debated at the United Nations. As usual, feelings had become heated, one South African lady being constantly bombarded with angry questions on the colour prejudice of her countrymen. At length she rose with some dignity, turned on her questioners, passionately declaimed 'You can never understand unless you have lived in the country—then you would see what we mean', and left the hall. It always ended there if a South African were in the audience.

Sitting in the smoke room of the Pretoria Castle, a most beautiful vessel and flagship of the Union-Castle Line, I was talking to Gladstone Letele, who was returning from three years' lecturing in London University to the Non-European University College of Fort Hare. He was a Negro or Native, and had just been telling me that when he and his family landed at Port Elizabeth they would be refused accommodation in any hotel in the city and did not know where they could stay for the night whilst waiting for the next day's train. As two South Africans passed by our table one loudly declared to the other, 'This is a bloody Kaffir ship. Look at that kaffirboetie rooinek mixing with a damned nigger.'

Having walked round Cape Town for two hours with a Coloured lady I had known in Glasgow I was feeling hot and thirsty. It was but a few hours since I had left the ship and although it was both interesting and exciting to be in streets crammed with gaily dressed people, every other one with some shade of dark skin, the sub-tropical flowers and palm trees were excitingly exotic, the Houses of Parliament then in session, stimulating to my political sense, yet I was tired and somewhat bemused. My attention was constantly held by the repeated notices, on park seats, in the post office, at the railway station, on telephone kiosks, even outside lavatories—'Europeans Only, Blankes Alleen'. I wanted to sit down and absorb these first impressions, and I wanted a cup of tea.

At last I took the initiative myself and suggested to my companion that we adjourn to a café for tea. Immediately she blushed and said she was not thirsty. It was then that I realized that no café in Cape Town would admit a Non-European.

I had settled into a comfortable room in Woodstock, one of the suburbs of Cape Town. By now I was accustomed to the curiosity of my Coloured neighbours, and was even accepted into some of their homes. The police had twice interviewed my landlady to discover why a white man was living in this area, and had

retired baffled. I was now used to seeing half the family of children opposite going to a European school, whilst their darker-hued brothers and sisters set off in the opposite direction to the mission school for Coloureds. I knew that certain of my neighbours should be recognized as white in the European shops and firms they worked for, as they 'passed', as the Americans say, and would not recognize their darker coloured sisters and brothers in the city streets for fear of being known as Coloured. By now I was used to the constant watch for finger-nails, curly hair, brown eyes—the 'infallible' tests of colour—and had grown to accept the fact that if I was with a Coloured or African friend I could not enter a theatre, cinema, sports ground, restaurant, hotel, or public house.

Yet, in spite of the suspicion with which I was first regarded, I had been accepted into a Coloured tennis club, and, after a hot afternoon of games, I went with half-a-dozen friends to the Taafelberg, the new and only Non-European hotel. As soon as I sat down, I was asked to leave and use the European room. When I demurred the manager was brought, and it was not until I had protested that my grandmother was a Negro that I was allowed to remain with my friends. No one believed me, but how could they tell? So many 'white' South Africans have coloured ancestors.

From the moment of stepping ashore this atmosphere of colour consciousness enveloped me, as overpowering as the shadow of Table Mountain. It was patently obvious that if I was to understand anything of South Africa I had to gain some comprehension of this universal sense of colour. With this determination I settled down to live in the country, not just to visit it, and began my study of 'the land of sunshine'—and of darkness.

CHAPTER ONE

PROBLEMS OF A NATION

ANYONE WHO HAS any interest in the South African nation will have heard and read repeatedly the argument of South African Europeans that no one living outside their country can ever fully appreciate the difficulties which face them. This is, of course, as true of South Africa as of any other nation, but it would perhaps be better for South Africans themselves to listen and read critically the ideas of other people. None of us can be certain of having such a monopoly of absolute truth that we can afford to neglect the opinion and criticism of others, and frequently it is found that the criticism of an observer, even if not founded on complete knowledge of a situation, at least opens up new avenues of consideration which those who are constantly living with the problem are apt to overlook.

I, like most other outside observers of the South African situation, have often been irritated by the apparent refusal of South African Europeans to consider any arguments from overseas observers and discovered to my somewhat cynical amusement that many of them were themselves entirely ignorant of many of the important features of their national life. But I can sympathize with one aspect of the South Africans' impatience with overseas opinion. It is true that South Africa has a unique problem and that it cannot be solved simply by passing judgement based on the experience of a totally different national situation.

This first problem of the South African nation arises from the racial composition of its population. In July 1950, the inhabitants of the Union were made up of 8,347,000 Natives, 2,620,000 Europeans, 1,030,000 Coloureds, and 323,000 Asiatics.^[1] The separation of these four categories is made for convenience and is not ethnological, for each group contains within itself a mixture of racial stocks. One primary fact however emerges from this analysis.

For notes, see p. 245.

Unlike the case in any other important independent nation, the European citizens are heavily outnumbered by the Non-Europeans. The relations between the minority Europeans and the majority Non-Europeans presents South Africa with its primary national problem. Because of this the South African situation has frequently been compared with that of colonial territories and its policy judged as one would judge colonial policy.

This attitude entirely ignores the fact that the European population of South Africa is not composed of colonial settlers. The South African Europeans regard themselves as the builders of a new nation state to which they owe their entire allegiance. No longer for them—or for most of them anyway—is there a motherland or a fatherland other than South Africa itself. They do not, therefore, regard themselves as colonial settlers who are only temporarily resident in their present country and who will eventually return to the land of their origin.

We have, therefore, to regard the population of South Africa as composed of the citizens of a sovereign state. Looked at in this way, the composition of that population is quite unique and there is a problem for which there is no precedent elsewhere.

In such circumstances it is not altogether surprising that the European inhabitants consider that it is they who have created the South African nation, that they must remain in control of the destinies of that nation and that they therefore have a constant fear of being swamped by the numbers of the Non-Europeans, in which case they believe that all they have built would be destroyed, and that they would become homeless political refugees. Imbued with these beliefs and this fear from childhood days, they consequently regard the overseas liberal dogma of equal political rights as quite irrelevant to their situation and based on a complete ignorance of the realities of their problem.

This issue of a plural community is one of the most difficult and dangerous which faces humanity. A generalized or dogmatic formula, based on the experience of a totally different community, cannot solve it. For instance, the British are apt to argue automatically that their type of responsible parliamentary government,

which has been developed by a homogeneous community over centuries of political and social experiment and evolution, is the sole and universal formula for political democracy. We have never yet considered seriously whether it is suitable for people with totally different traditions, culture, and social history, nor whether other forms of government, such as, for instance, that of the Swiss or of the Americans, might more successfully suit different circumstances. Certainly in the complicated structure of the South African nation this automatic assumption that British political experience is the only type which can guarantee a democratic structure is far too shallow an approach to a vitally important issue, which will soon have to be faced in other countries as well as South Africa.

At the same time, it should equally be realized that the South Africans themselves have hardly begun to think frankly about the realities of their own problem, although, as will be pointed out later, certain tentative suggestions are now being made by some of them.

The problems consequent upon the racial mixture of the population have been aggravated and become much more apparent as a result of the industrial revolution which has been changing South African society throughout this century. According to the relevant Government reports, between 1911 and 1946 the percentage of Natives living in urban areas increased from 12.82 to 22.99 and that of Europeans from 51.70 to 72.50. Correspondingly during the same period the percentage of Native rural dwellers fell from 87.18 to 77.01 and of Europeans from 48.30 to 27.50. Looked at in a different way, between 1921 and 1946, the number of Natives living in urban areas rose from 587,000 to 1,794,212, a total increase of 1,207,212 or an average of 48,288 per year and 4,024 per month.

The consequent great growth of the population of South African towns has created many problems, but the first is undoubtedly the fact that the tremendous influx of Non-Europeans into the towns has brought Europeans and Non-Europeans into much greater personal contact than before, and has thus made

both groups far more aware of the difficulties of their relations with each other.

The main difference recognized in South African life between the different peoples, is the visually obvious one of skin colour, and the prejudice which has arisen amongst Europeans against those of a different pigmentation has its roots in the early social, religious and economic history of the country. But today, the chief defence of this prejudice is based upon the desire and necessity of preserving the European type of civilization. The dark skin is now identified with a lower form of social life and with primitive habits and customs which are considered a menace to European society. If anything, the growing urbanization of the Non-Europeans has aggravated the consciousness of this social differentiation, for the European of today points to the appalling housing, health and literacy standard of the Non-European and is apt to identify such standards with skin colour. The fact is, of course, that the great influx of both Europeans and Non-Europeans into the towns has led to an acute housing shortage and to an almost complete breakdown in the municipal administration. According to Report No. 13 of the Social and Economic Planning Council, it was estimated in 1943 that 60,000 additional houses were needed for Europeans and 125,000 for Non-Europeans, whilst by 1955 a further 140,000 European and 150,000 Non-European houses would be required. Whilst the housing problem is national and applies to all racial groups, it is the Non-Europeans who bear the greatest brunt, and although municipalities have built hostels, compounds, and housing estates, their building has always lagged far behind the needs of the growing population. The consequent overcrowding of the Non-European residential areas has produced the appalling slums and shanty towns which necessarily prevent the majority of Non-Europeans from ever finding the opportunity of approaching a European standard of life.

The handicap of bad housing is aggravated by high rents and by the cost of transport from residential areas, which are far from the place of work, and, of course, by the great disparity between

European and Non-European incomes. The Social Security Committee estimated the average income per head of the European population in 1941-2 at about £125 per annum, compared with that of £25 for Coloureds and £10 for Natives.

From these social conditions arises the inevitable consequence of differential health rates. Many of the statistics in this respect are inaccurate and incomplete, but those which have been compiled show a tremendous difference between the conditions of health in the various racial groups. According to the Annual Report of the Department of Public Health, in 1944 the infant mortality rate per thousand live births was 42.53 for Europeans, 90.06 for Asiatics and 162.76 for Coloureds. The figures have not been compiled for the Natives, but the National Health Services Commission reports that 'The consensus of opinion among Medical Officers of Health and the evidence of several services is that the Native infant mortality rate is not less than 150 anywhere, and in some areas is as high as 600 to 700.' It is possible to compare the death rates of Europeans, Asiatics and Coloureds, which, according to the Office of Census and Statistics, was in rough figures, 9 per 1,000 for Europeans, 23 for Coloureds and 17 for Asiatics.

Figures are again difficult to obtain in regard to the tuberculosis death rate, but an estimate quoted in the Social and Economic Planning Council's Report suggests that in 1941 the tuberculosis death rate for Natives was five times, for urban Natives seven times, and for urban Coloureds ten times the death rate of Europeans.

If we add to these health statistics the figures for literacy, we shall gain some clear idea of the reason for the different social standards of Europeans and Non-Europeans. In 1946, for instance, the Union Education Committee reported that 95 per cent of European children between the ages of 7 and 16 were receiving education, compared with 34 per cent of the Natives and 75 per cent of other Non-Europeans. Of these, 108,960 European children were in post-primary schools, compared with 22,716 Natives and 60,630 other Non-Europeans. In the same year the State spent

£18,668,180 on European education compared with £2,670,994 on Natives and £2,541,612 on other Non-Europeans. This represents a cost of £7.99 per head of the European population, compared with 6s. 11d. for Natives and £2.29 for other Non-Europeans. In this connection, it should be pointed out that over the period 1936-1946 great strides have been made in the provision of education for all Non-Europeans, the amount spent on Non-European education having been more than trebled, whilst that on European education was only doubled. It should also be noted that the Union spends much more per head on its Native education than do the territories which border South Africa, although, of course, the contribution of South Africa's Natives to the national income is much higher than that in other states. Most of this education is conducted and largely financed by Missionary Societies which are supported by subscriptions, the Government supplementing these precarious finances by grants. But the differentiation between educational opportunities for Europeans and Non-Europeans is plain to see.

One of the problems which is not generally realized either inside or outside the South African nation is the national poverty which the country is facing. When Colin Clark wrote his analysis of national incomes, entitled *The Conditions of Economic Progress*, he used for purposes of international comparison what he called International Units and took as his period of comparison that from 1925 to 1934. On this basis the United States of America had the highest national income per head with a figure of 1381 International Units. This could be compared with the 1069 of Great Britain, the 855 of Holland, the 320 of the Soviet Union and 276 of South Africa. Since 1934 the South African national income has undoubtedly increased, but there can be no doubt that, on any international comparison, South Africa is still a very poor country.

This fact has been largely covered up by the artificially high standard of living enjoyed by the majority of the European population, but even the comfort and luxury of this minority depends to a very large extent upon the gold and diamond mining

which forms the biggest proportion of the country's exports. It is again not generally realized to what a high extent the whole economy of the country rests upon gold and diamonds. For instance, the adverse trade balance of South Africa is well over £100,000,000 a year. In the first eleven months of 1951 the Union imported goods to the value of £436,434,400 and exported a value of only £314,423,064 of which £88,261,015 was from gold and diamonds. Significantly, this adverse trade balance of over £122 millions is largely settled by gold payments. Considering that about 60 per cent of the raw materials used in South Africa are purchased from abroad, the dependence of industry on gold can be realized.

Gold and diamond prices are very much dependent upon international considerations outside the control of the Union, and it is obvious that the figures just quoted are largely due to devaluation, which has tremendously increased the value of gold. Yet it is upon the mining industry that the supply of commodities in the Union largely depends. The national economy is still badly unbalanced as between agriculture and industry and much of the agriculture as well as the industry is still very inefficient. In 1936, for instance, 64 per cent of the total population was engaged in farming, yet they could only produce 12 per cent of the national income. It was estimated in that year that in New Zealand the labour of one man in farming could produce a full diet for forty people, whereas in South Africa one man's work could hardly feed two people.

The internal wealth of the country in its agricultural resources is also being rapidly destroyed by mal-usage. It cannot be long before the competing demands of industry and agricultural irrigation will overstrain the water provision of the country. At the moment, for instance, the industrial needs of the Witwatersrand are being augmented by the development of the new Free State gold fields and it can hardly be hoped that the Vaal River will be able to provide both these industrial needs and the water to irrigate the farms.

At the same time, too, the menace of soil erosion is ever present to gnaw away at the vitals of South African life. The rain which

falls in South Africa has a subtropical force, and when land has been injudiciously used by over-grazing, over-cropping, incorrect planting and excessive cultivation, the top soil is quickly washed away. The authors of *The Rape of the Earth* state, for instance, that 'The tragedy of South Africa has been the appalling rapidity with which its fertility reserves have been depleted and its thin soil covering washed away. In no other country have the disastrous consequences of erosion followed so quickly after its commencement.' One cannot travel far in any of the country areas without seeing quite plainly the evidence, in deep troughs or dongas in the hillsides, of the wastage of productive soil every time the rains fall. It is ironical, too, to note that in the Native reserves, which are supposed to be food producing areas, maize has to be imported annually in order to keep the people alive.

In these economic circumstances, in which the life of the country depends so obviously on the wasting assets of gold and diamonds, it would seem obvious that the existence of the nation depends upon a sound building of secondary industries. Great expansions have taken place in the industrial areas over the last twenty years and stimulation has come from the needs of world wars, but to expand industry two requirements are essential. There must be first of all an efficient and well organized labour force and secondly there must be a healthy and expanding home market. South Africa has not yet established either of these essentials. She has the difficulty in labour supply of finding the means by which the privileged white community and the underprivileged Non-Europeans can work usefully and productively together. The 'Civilized Labour Policy', by which almost all skilled and semi-skilled jobs are reserved for Europeans, whilst Non-Europeans are largely confined to unskilled labour, may have helped to cure and prevent the problem of poor whites, but it cannot provide the basis of healthy labour organization. Efficiency and economic use of labour resources is impossible so long as this great pool of unskilled labour is artificially and compulsorily frustrated and all incentive to climbing the ladder of industrial and economic progress is absent. The artificial main-

tenance of the high standard of life for Europeans, no matter what their efficiency, and the low standard for Non-Europeans, is obstructing both the expansion and the efficiency of South African industry, and making its position impossible in the competitive world market.

The same causes have prevented the growth of a healthy and developing home market. The poverty of the Non-European communities has drastically reduced home consumption and this great body of people, who could become the sound foundation of a developed South African industry, is allowed to remain in such poverty that they can neither become an efficient labour force nor develop as a potential fruitful field of consumption.

We return to the greatest single national problem which faces the people of this young country, undoubtedly that consequential upon the racial groupings. So long as the full repository of social, economic and political power resides in the hands of a minority, there cannot be peace, harmony, and co-operation. All the problems of industrialization, housing shortage, poverty, disease, and illiteracy could be faced and tackled if there were trust, confidence, and, therefore, the basis of co-operation between the different sections of the people. So long, however, as one race rules and the others obey, friction and resentment are inevitable and any real degree of co-operation impossible.

What is even more important from the point of view of democracy is the disrespect for national law and democratic political institutions to which this situation leads. It is an axiom of any democratic society that the law must be formulated and approved, not just by a bare majority of the people, but by the vast majority, if it is to be valid. Unless the people feel that they are participating in the law-making, confidence in the equity of law will always be absent. When the people know or believe that regulations are being made without consultation, or against their desires, such regulations cease to be law and become tyranny.

This is precisely the situation which has arisen in South Africa. Whatever the solution may be, the fact is that nearly ten million out of the twelve million inhabitants know that they have no

control or influence over the political institutions and the laws which are passed. They, therefore, regard the law as invalid and its officers as tyrants, and where possible avoid or break it with a feeling of virtue. In this situation it is not simply the present holders of office who are brought into disrepute, but the very conception of law itself. In the same way, the cynicism and disrespect which is felt for the present parliamentary institutions, because of the fact that they represent only a small minority of the population, is cast upon, not only the parliamentarians of today, but upon the institution of Parliament itself. A nation which suffers from the evils of disrespect for the law and cynicism for its political institutions is undermined at its very foundations.

Now, above economic, legal, and political issues, has been suspended the fundamental question-mark of the constitution itself. The problems raised by the Act passed in 1951 for the separate representation of the Coloured voters go far beyond matters of party politics. They have set all Southern Africa wondering on what foundations their community can rest. Later I shall describe the circumstances of the struggle over this Act, but here I am concerned with the constitutional problem which has been presented to the South African nation.

Until 1951 it was considered that South Africa had a written constitution, laid down by the South Africa Act of 1909. Although the Statute of Westminster of 1931 and the later Colonial Laws Validity Act gave the South African Parliament full powers, the principles of the 1909 Act were endorsed unanimously by that Parliament. This was important, because of the contentions which have for so long created antagonisms between different sections of the South African community. If the four separate colonies were to be formed into a united nation it was essential that a written constitution should be established which would guarantee that no section of the community could ever impose its will on another. Without such safeguard the South African nation of Europeans could never exist, for the differences were so great that the community of interest essential to nationhood could never be present. It is important to note that we are

considering here the *European* nation, for the constitution was drawn up by and for Europeans, even though it involved the status of Non-Europeans in the Cape.

The issue of the Cape Coloured voters has now demonstrated that South Africa has no constitution. Thus a bare majority in Parliament, even only a majority of members, elected by a minority of voters, can enact whatever laws it pleases. If it so decided it could disenfranchise any section of voters it desired or prolong its own term of office indefinitely. In other words, it has the legal power to establish a dictatorship.

What is difficult to discover now is from where this Parliament can claim to derive its authority. If it is not from the South Africa Act, where does it come from? If the provisions of the 1909 Act no longer obtain, what authority decides, for instance, that only Europeans shall sit in Parliament, or that this Parliament shall be the highest authority in the land? Or does this Parliament now hold its authority on the sanction of force alone?

This new issue has cut deeply to the roots of the South African nation. It has broken the link which bound the two sections of South African Europeans together and destroyed the safeguard which prevented one section from imposing its will on the other. Although most politically conscious Non-Europeans have never had any faith in the value of the constitution to them, it has destroyed their last belief in the word of the white man. It has left South Africa constitutionally rudderless and created a vacuum which apparently leaves little hope for any stable political progress. That vacuum will have to be filled—but by what?

CHAPTER TWO

THE SOLUTION OF THE NATIONALIST INTELLECTUALS

IN ORDER TO inquire honestly and objectively into the life of any nation, it is essential to try to project oneself into the personality of its people, and to look at their problems through their eyes rather than through the spectacles of an observer from abroad. One should, I think, go even further than this to get a balanced view, and attempt to place oneself within the viewpoint of the different sections of a nation to see and realize the various approaches and outlooks which are made by its different communities.

This is particularly the case in South Africa, where the population is divided so sharply into different communities, each with varying and usually contradictory approaches to every national and, indeed, international problem.

With this idea in mind, I decided to try and break through the defensive crust which seems to surround every one of the communities of the South African nation and, instead of just observing their frictions and conflicts with each other, to identify myself for a time with the outlook of each of them and to understand their point of view, rather than simply act as a critic.

Having an introduction to Professor B. I. C. van Eeden, Vice-Chairman of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, I drove out from Cape Town northwards through Bellville and found the delightful little University town of Stellenbosch nestling amongst the wooded slopes at the foot of the mountains of Hottentots Holland. Stellenbosch is a really beautiful town, its white houses showing a vivid contrast against the green avenues of trees and the bright colours of the many flowers in its gardens. Its University is the heart of intellectual nationalism, and it was for this reason that I was anxious to meet the members of the recently formed Bureau, which is trying to work out a consistent

theory of approach to the great racial problem of the nation.

Professor van Eeden is the head of the Department of Native Affairs, and it was to that section of the University that I made my way in order to find him. As it happened, the Professor was away from his Department and from his office, which adjoins the very interesting Native Affairs' Museum. His secretary directed me to his house. It took me over half an hour to find it, partly because of my own stupidity but also because several of the people from whom I asked the way appeared to speak only Afrikaans. This search, however, gave me the opportunity which I should otherwise not have had, of seeing something of the town and its beautiful situation within the valley of the surrounding mountains, and it also confirmed the impression which I had formed elsewhere that the people of the country towns, and particularly the Afrikaners in them, are far more friendly and helpful than the inhabitants of the big cities. There is an atmosphere of courtesy and kindness to the visitor which one does not often meet in city life.

When I finally found Professor van Eeden's house I was told again that he was not in, but, instead of being left to wander about until his return, I was very graciously received by his wife and left to browse in his library with a very welcome cup of tea.

It so happened that I had been unable to warn the Professor of my visit, yet when he arrived and learned that I was a visitor from a British University, he immediately rang up some of his colleagues and arranged a meeting in the University at which they could satisfy my curiosity. Within a few minutes, some of the leading protagonists of the intellectual aspect of the theory of Apartheid were sitting round the Professor's table with me in his office. I had been introduced, and we were ready to lay bare the secrets of this policy, which, by now, has become a well-known expression in international politics.

Before entering into the detailed discussion which occupied the next two or three hours, let us look for a moment at the nature of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, at the people who

have brought it into being, and at the circumstances of its birth. According to its constitution—"The main aims of this organization are:

- (1) To promote and exert itself for the separate development of, on the one hand, the European and, on the other, the various non-European groups of the population of South Africa, and to protect and safeguard the interests of these groups.
- (2) To encourage and work for peace, good-will, and co-operation between the various sections and races of the population of South Africa.
- (3) To devote itself to the accomplishment of a just and equitable regulation of racial affairs in South Africa, and to promote the general welfare of the European, Coloured and Native inhabitants.
- (4) To afford and distribute information regarding all aspects of race relations in South Africa and to create, here and elsewhere, an enlightened public opinion in this connection, also as to the implications and applications of a policy of separation.
- (5) To do research work and to make a thorough and scientific study of all the important aspects of our race problems.
- (6) To exert itself for the proper development of the Native Reserves.

Amongst its foundation members are leading men, not only in the world of South African political thought, but also in political life itself. Included amongst them are not only Professor van Eeden and Professor W. W. M. Eiselen (who left the academic field of anthropology to become the present Secretary of the Department of Native Affairs—that is, head of the Civil Service in that Department), but also Dr T. E. Donges, the present Minister of the Interior, and Dr E. G. Jansen, who has been Minister for Native Affairs until his recent promotion to the post of Governor-General. It is curious also to find amongst the foundation members, Colonel C. F. Stallard, who was leader of the now defunct pro-British, imperialist Dominion Party, which formed a part of the war-time Smuts Coalition Government.

The Bureau was formed in 1947, mainly as an alternative and as a competitor to the long-established South African Institute of Race Relations, which has its headquarters in Johannesburg. The Institute has been the main organization in South Africa for the

promotion of the idea of assimilation and integration of Non-Europeans into the European civilization of the country. We shall have occasion later to describe more fully the various principles of the Institute, but it should be said here that, whilst it supports the conception of one multi-racial society, it does not consider that this necessarily implies inter-marriage and miscegenation. SABRA was formed in order to oppose the policy of assimilation and, as its aims indicate, to promote the alternative idea of complete separation of development for the different races.

Like many overseas observers and, indeed, along with many South Africans, I had gained a distinct impression that the supporters of Apartheid were concerned only with the preservation of white domination and intent upon obstructing all development amongst Non-Europeans. I freely admit that I was entirely mistaken in this belief, and that the members of SABRA whom I met, and the publications of the organization which I have since read, show that there is a strong, sincere, and well-reasoned body of opinion behind the Apartheid policy which is concerned, not simply with preserving white domination, but with securing greater opportunities of development for the Non-Europeans than South Africa has ever yet provided.

There seems to be a fairly widely accepted view in South Africa that the possible lines of racial policy fall into three categories. For instance, the Report of the Native Laws Commission in 1948, under the Chairmanship of Mr Justice Fagan, suggested that:

For the purposes of our inquiry we may distinguish between three main tendencies. . . . On the one wing are the advocates of a policy that may be called that of total segregation. The goal at which they aim is an absolute territorial division between European and Native; ultimately there would be in South Africa a territory in which no Native, and another in which no European would be regarded as a permanent inhabitant. . . . On the other wing we may place those who consider that there should be no racial discrimination in the law and in administration. The third view, which one may place between the two already mentioned, is that European and Native communities, spread over the country as is the case today, will continue to exist permanently side by side, and they must therefore be recognized as

permanent, but that there are differences between them which legislation must take into account and which make a measure of separation in matters of administration necessary and advisable.

Similarly, Professor R. F. Alfred Hoernle, in his *South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit*, puts forward three possible policies which he calls 'Total Assimilation', 'Parallelism' and 'Total Segregation'.

The SABRA group, of course, represents the policy of total separation. Two definitions, from a lecture given to the Witwatersrand People's Forum on October 8th, 1948 by Professor Eiselen, seem to me to summarize very clearly the basic outlook of the group. Professor Eiselen defines the controversial expression 'Race':

A large natural group of people which, by virtue of certain permanent, because hereditary, characteristics common to all its members, clearly distinguishes itself from other groups sharing a different set of hereditary characteristics.

His definition of Apartheid is equally clear and concise. He says:

By separation I mean this separating of the heterogeneous groups, from the population of this country, into separate socio-economic units, inhabiting separate parts of the country, each enjoying in its own area full citizen rights, the greatest of which is the opportunity of developing such capabilities as its individual members may possess to their optimum capacity.

The members of the Bureau with whom I discussed this theory assured me at the start that they had no reason to believe that the South African Native has any less capacity for development mentally, physically or emotionally, than has the European, and that they are themselves particularly concerned that his opportunity for development should be much greater than it is today. They consider, however, that the greatest obstacle preventing this opportunity from being provided is the racial prejudice of the South African European population. They accept this prejudice as unalterable and, starting from this premise, argue that if reasonable opportunities for progress amongst Non-Europeans are to be provided, they can only be devised in completely separate areas.

They would therefore demarcate the country into European and Non-European areas and would encourage all Non-Europeans, and particularly Natives, to reside in such areas and use all their abilities for the development of what would become a completely separate Non-European state. Eventually it might be that South Africa would be divided into European, African, Coloured, and perhaps Indian states, each of them self-sufficient, maintaining its homogeneity, its own culture and its sovereign status. Something along these lines has recently been suggested by Arthur Keppel-Jones in his book, *Friends or Foes*.

For the moment, however, the main concentration is on the division of European and Non-European, the issue of the fate of the Coloured people being not yet seriously considered, whilst the general attitude to the Indians is that they should be repatriated as soon as possible.

The SABRA supporters recognize that their theory involves a revolutionary change of attitude amongst the European community. Concentrating upon the present Native Reserves, they require immense investment of European capital to develop industries, provide transport facilities, housing schemes, power and water, an expanded educational and health service, and for the development of a scientific usage of the land. Nothing less than this planned development of economy could possibly make the Reserves capable of supporting any increased population, for even today, with less than 50 per cent of the Native population living in them, they do not approach self-sufficiency.

It is recognized, too, that eventually, with further development, the Reserves themselves will have to be expanded if they are to carry anything like the full Native community. This will involve the buying up of further land from Europeans, and it is realized that there will be considerable opposition to such a policy from European farmers.

Opposition will come indeed from all sections of the European community, for the implication of this policy is that the Europeans will eventually have to do without Native labour. They will have to start to do their own manual unskilled work themselves,

supported, so SABRA hopes, by continued and increased immigration.

For a long time to come, much of the direction and control of such a plan would have to be under the guidance of Europeans, but the SABRA supporters believe that even so, the educated and cultured Non-Europeans would immediately find better opportunities for using their abilities, training, and skill, in the building up of their own institutions within what will eventually become their own state, than they do today within the European society, which frustrates all their ambitions. SABRA intends to try to persuade the educated sections of Non-Europeans to support this policy in their own interests and at the same time persuade sufficient Europeans to devote themselves to assisting in the plan. Eventually they visualize complete political autonomy for this 'Bantustan', with all political, economic and social power vested in the hands of Non-Europeans and with the European advisors and teachers returning to the European state. In the lecture quoted above, Professor Eiselen places this scheme alongside his alternatives as he sees them:

In this case the alternatives are EITHER to remain in partnership with the Natives, to hold them in subjection for a shorter or longer period and eventually to admit to a status of inimical and uneasy equality, when they are sufficiently organized to force your hand, OR to accustom yourself gradually to manage without their labour, to educate them for self-sufficiency and to add to their land, and to add liberally after they have demonstrated their ability to farm gainfully and at the same time to preserve and increase the fertility of the land.

He continues by suggesting a means of progress towards his aim:

Extension of the local council system, the establishment of a Federal Council representing all the Native areas and the creation of suitable legislative and executive machinery would naturally form part of the separation programme.

And again:

It will be our duty to find ways and means for making it less difficult to weather this transition period. Purposeful reorganization of the schooling we offer might help a great deal. In focusing attention on constructive measures we find escape from the feeling of frustration

which is nourished by the existing disabilities. There is no reason why training for independent life should not play a major part in our town schools, so as to expedite the rehabilitation of Native areas by an influx of people from without, who are ready to participate in the constructive programme.

He, like all the members of the SABRA group whom I met, is convinced that, in fact, their plan offers a more liberal and hopeful outlook to the Non-Europeans of the nation than does any alternative policy. In discussing these rival proposals, Professor Eiselen says:

Of these, separation only can be applied consistently, and separation only is free from all technique of domination. It is more liberal than assimilation, which would deprive the Natives of their Bantu heritage in order to give them full equality, but finds that it cannot keep its promise because their hereditary and not man-made racial characteristics continue to function as a social barrier. Our economic *per caput* output is extremely low, and South Africa is, therefore, a very poor country.

The reason is that a great mass of latent human energy and initiative which could become a dynamic force in the development of the country is chained down to a static level in our multi-racial socio-economic structure.

Separation alone can release this energy effectively, not by pressing some miracle-working button, but by translating the principles of trusteeship into a genuine programme of education for self-sufficiency.

This theory clearly represents a constructive approach to the great racial problem which lies at the root of every South African Native policy. I was particularly interested, after having the theory explained to me, to test the reactions of the SABRA supporters towards the actual policy of the Nationalist Government. I pointed out to them that, only recently, the Prime Minister had refused in the House of Assembly to accept the Bantustan theory as a practical political policy. It would seem to an impartial observer that, whilst the Government is intent upon putting into effect the negative policy and preventing all contact between Europeans and Non-Europeans, it has shown little inclination to devote resources to even the beginnings of the constructive side of their theory. It is significant to note that they expressed disappointment with the Prime Minister's statement and agreed that, so far, there has

been little sign of that development of the Native Reserves which is an essential part of their theory.

When I gave them the opportunity of questioning me, their main concern seemed to be as to how they could prevent the growth of uninformed and biased overseas criticism, and I suggested to them that they were hardly making the most of their opportunities for presenting their case to the world and, indeed, that South Africa as a whole seems timorous of stating a consistent policy before overseas opinion. I suggested, too, that many of our misconceptions overseas come from the fact that a group like SABRA, which has a consistent and constructive plan to meet the major South African problem, is not willing to criticize publicly its own Government for its lack of constructive measures and, at the same time, like all other South African groups and individuals, appeared unwilling to meet overseas criticism with a constructive answer.

Nevertheless, the friendly welcome, co-operation, and the thoughtful and objective discussion of South African problems which I found in Stellenbosch, gave me much food for thought and opened up an entirely new aspect on the problem as I drove out of this beautiful town in the dusk, having spent much longer there than I had ever anticipated.

One thought struck me as of paramount practical importance. The Stellenbosch intellectuals might be personally sincere and be prepared to face the reality of the colour prejudice of the vast majority of the South African Europeans. But had they based their own policy on any greater reality than the liberals? Could complete separation of the races be brought about in the South African situation and even if it could, would Europeans be any more prepared to give up the advantages of Non-European labour in town, mine, and farm than they were to forget their colour prejudice? Above all, would the Nationalist politicians, who claimed to have adopted the Stellenbosch idealistic theory, be prepared to try to get Europeans to make such sacrifices for the sake of racial purity and harmony? It was to find these fundamentally significant answers that I turned to the political scene.

CHAPTER THREE

H.N.P.—THE REUNITED NATIONAL PARTY

ON MAY 26TH 1948 the National Party defeated Smuts' Government in the South African General Election by gaining 70 seats out of the 153 in the Union House of Assembly. As the Afrikaner Party had also won 9 seats in alliance with the Nationalists, the Nationalist-Afrikaner Coalition Government was formed with a majority of 5 over its opponents, drawn from the United Party, the Labour Party and the Native Representatives. The National Party had fought the election on the policy of Apartheid, and both the South African nation and the world waited in some trepidation to see how this rather vague political conception would be put into practice. We have already seen the intellectual theory which underlay the policy of Apartheid, but intellectual theory does not usually make for a realistic political programme, particularly at the time of an election.

In these circumstances it is important to consider the essentials of the National Party's election programme, on which it was elected into office, in order to see the pattern of its plans. On March 29th 1948, the National Party published a pamphlet entitled *The National Party's Colour Policy*, which was distributed as one of its main election statements during the campaign. In order to understand the policy which the National Party put before the country, which was approved by a large section of the electorate, it is necessary to quote this pamphlet very fully:

There are two sections of thought in South Africa in regard to the policy affecting the non-European community. On the one hand there is the policy of equality, which advocates equal rights within the same political structure for all civilized and educated persons, irrespective of race or colour, and the gradual granting of the franchise to non-Europeans as they become qualified to make use of democratic rights.

On the other hand there is the policy of separation (apartheid) which has grown from the experience of the established European

population of the country, and which is based on the Christian principles of justice and reasonableness.

Its aim is the maintenance and protection of the European population of the country as a pure white race, the maintenance and protection of the indigenous racial groups as separate communities, with prospects of developing into self-supporting communities within their own areas, and the stimulation of national pride, self-respect, and mutual respect among the various races of the country.

We can act in only one of two directions. Either we must follow the course of equality, which must eventually mean national suicide for the white race, or we must take the course of separation (apartheid) through which the character and the future of every race will be protected and safeguarded with full opportunities for development and self-maintenance in their own ideas, without the interests of one clashing with the interests of the other, and without one regarding the development of the other as undermining or a threat to himself.

The party therefore undertakes to protect the white race properly and effectively against any policy, doctrine or attack which might undermine or threaten its continued existence. At the same time the party rejects any policy of oppression and exploitation of the non-Europeans by the Europeans as being in conflict with the Christian basis of our national life and irreconcilable with our policy.

The party believes that a definite policy of separation (apartheid) between the white races and the non-white racial groups, and the application of the policy of separation also in the case of the non-white racial groups, is the only basis on which the character and future of each race can be protected and safeguarded and on which each race can be guided so as to develop its own national character, aptitude and calling.

All marriages between Europeans and non-Europeans will be prohibited.

In their areas the non-European racial groups will have full opportunities for development in every sphere and will be able to develop their own institutions and social services whereby the forces of the progressive non-Europeans can be harnessed for their own national development (volksopbou). The policy of the country must be so planned that it will eventually promote the ideal of complete separation (algehele apartheid) in a national way.

A permanent advisory body of experts on non-European affairs will be established.

The state will exercise complete supervision over the moulding of

the youth. The party will not tolerate interference from without or destructive propaganda to the outside world in regard to the racial problems of South Africa.

The party wishes all non-Europeans to be strongly encouraged to make the Christian religion the basis of their lives and will assist churches in this task in every possible way. Churches and societies which undermine the policy of apartheid and propagate doctrines foreign to the nation will be checked.

The Coloured community takes a middle position between the Europeans and the Natives. A policy of separation (apartheid) between the Europeans and Coloureds and between Natives and Coloureds will be applied in the social, residential, industrial and political spheres. No marriage between Europeans and Coloureds will be permitted. The Coloureds will be protected against unfair competition from the Natives in so far as where they are already established.

The Coloured community will be represented in the Senate by a European representative to be appointed by the Government by reason of his knowledge of Coloured affairs.

The present unhealthy system which allows Coloureds in the Cape to be registered on the same voters' roll as Europeans and to vote for the same candidate as Europeans will be abolished and the Coloureds will be represented in the House of Assembly by three European representatives.

These Coloured representatives will be elected by a Coloured representative council. They will not vote on:

- (1) Votes of confidence in the Government.
- (2) A declaration of war, and
- (3) A change in the political rights of non-Europeans.

A State department of Coloured affairs will be established.

The Coloured community will be represented in the Cape Provincial Council by three Europeans elected by the Coloured representative council.

A Coloured representative council will be established in the Cape Province consisting of representatives elected by the Coloured community, divided into constituencies with the present franchise qualifications, the head of the department of Coloured affairs and representatives nominated by the Government. In their own areas the Coloured community will have their own councils with their own public services which will be managed by themselves within the framework of the existing councils with higher authority.

Attention will be given to the provision of social, medical and welfare services in which the efforts of the Coloureds themselves can be

harnessed, and in which they will be taught as far as possible to be self-supporting.

The Afrikaner Party, under the leadership of Mr Havenga, still maintained a certain antipathy towards the National Party, arising largely out of jealousy between the two parties during the war. Mr Havenga was the closest supporter of General Hertzog and followed the famous General in all his policies. In 1925 he became Hertzog's Minister of Finance and he followed the General into opposition with the outbreak of war in 1939. He was the natural leader to succeed Hertzog on the latter's death in 1942 and, after the Nationalist's success in 1948, again became Minister of Finance and has several times acted as deputy Prime Minister. His support, and that of the party which he led, was essential to the formation of the Nationalist Government and the practical identity of policy between the two parties made it almost certain that the Afrikaner Party would join the Nationalists after the election.

Yet in spite of their alliance, there was still considerable jealousy and suspicion between members of the Afrikaner Party and the Nationalists. Behind the Afrikaner Party stood that curious and secret organization known as the Ossewa-Brandwag, which was founded in 1938, and which has since played an important part in the development of Afrikaner nationalism and in the propaganda in favour of a Republic. According to its first Commandant, who wrote in *Die Volksblad* in 1939, the aims of the Ossewa-Brandwag are:

The perpetuation of the spirit of the ox-waggon in South Africa; maintaining, amplifying, and giving expression to the traditions and principles of the Dutch-Afrikaner;

Protecting and promoting the religious, cultural, and material interests of the Afrikaner;

Fostering patriotism and national pride, and harnessing and uniting all Afrikaners, men as well as women, who endorse these principles and are prepared to make energetic endeavours to promote them. . . .

The modus operandi is as follows:

Celebrating Afrikaans national festivals and our heroes' birthdays, erecting memorials, laying wreaths on monuments, locating and keeping in repair places of historical interest as well as the graves of

Afrikaners who perished on the 'path of South Africa'; organizing gatherings such as target-practices, popinjay and 'vulture' shooting, playing jukskei, etc.; doing folk-dances and singing folk-songs, holding processions, regular gatherings of an educational and social nature; dramatic performances, lectures on our history, literature. . . .

These aims are very close to those of the Nationalists themselves, but they were promoted by people who had mainly followed General Hertzog as opposed to Dr Malan. Jealousy between the two groups was intensified when, under the leadership of J. F. van Rensburg, the Administrator of the Free State, the O.B. began to show signs during the war of entering the political field. In 1941 Dr Malan opened the attack upon the O.B. in an attempt to drive it out of any political role and that split caused deep hatred between its members and the Nationalists, which still to an extent exists. There is no love lost between Mr Havenga and the Nationalists, but the latter realize the great value which General Hertzog's lieutenant still retains for them. In any case, the association in Parliament between the two parties and the inclusion of several members of the Afrikaner Party within the Government, led to a practical identification of policy between the two, and certainly if Mr Havenga were to attempt to break away from the Nationalists he could not count on a unanimous following from his supporters. He has, indeed, become the prisoner of Nationalist policy.

The logical result has now been seen in the merger of the two parties. After the complete capitulation of Mr Havenga over the issue of the Cape Coloured vote and the Nationalist victories in South-West Africa, which have drastically reduced the power of the Afrikaner Party vis-a-vis their Nationalist colleagues, a joint statement was issued by Dr Malan and Mr Havenga. Published on June 23rd 1951 it stated that, 'After a period of fruitful co-operation between the two parties we consider that active steps should be taken now for their complete unification. We have decided to recommend that such unification should take place in the course of this year. The two leaders then suggest that both parties relinquish their present names and return to the one which was

used before the war-time split occurred, "Die Nasionale Party". This proposal has been accepted by the two parties and thus the Nationalist movement of the country is undoubtedly strengthened, though one wonders what will be the relations between the new party and the Broederbond and the Ossewa-Brandwag. Already the latter organization has begun to criticize the new party.

At the same time, some little sign of division has already appeared within Nationalist ranks. Recent statements on the republican issue by Dr Malan and Mr Strydom have been clearly contradictory and it may well be that before long a keen struggle will develop over this question. Mr Strydom is known to have the powerful support of Mr Swart, Mr Louw and Dr Verwoerd. Considering the history of South African politics, which has been constantly characterized by party schism, one wonders whether even the apparent unity of the Nationalist movement will last very long.

To most South Africans, the idea of Apartheid on the morrow of the election meant little more than putting into decisive effect the traditional South African policy of separation and segregation. It was no doubt partly the fear of the growth of independence of thought of the Non-Europeans that had assisted the Nationalists into office. During the war, many thousands of Non-Europeans joined up and, although there were considerable restrictions on their right to promotion or even to bear actual arms, many of them gained experience overseas, and came back with a discontent against their status of life in their home country. At the same time the growth of industry and the development of urbanization, along with considerable progress in education, has stimulated the Non-Europeans into making increasing demands for equality of rights and a higher place in the social and economic structure of the country.

It seems to have been largely the fear occasioned by this growth in political consciousness amongst Non-Europeans and by the suspicion that the Smuts Government was not handling the situation with sufficient firmness, that provided the Nationalists with their best ammunition during the election campaign. Many

of the Afrikaners from the rural areas, some of whom still regarded Non-Europeans as primitive savages, endangering the life and status of the European community, were susceptible to this propaganda. In the election the National Party secured more seats than any other party, but they actually did so with less votes. Whilst they and their Afrikaner Party allies held a majority of 5 in the House of Assembly they had secured only 401,834 votes against the 524,230 of their opponents.

The reason for this anomaly is that the South Africa Act allows rural constituencies to be weighted by as much as 15 per cent against the urban constituencies, and it was mainly in the rural constituencies that the Nationalists gained their seats. At the same time the United Party frequently had huge majorities in the seats which they won, whilst the Nationalists won many seats by only small majorities.

So at the end of May 1948 the country waited to see what the new Government, mainly composed of Afrikaner farmers, and elected by a minority vote, on a programme of preventing any further Non-European infiltration into European preserves and prerogatives, was going to build as its new South Africa. Little was known of the real political intentions of the National Party, but rumours and suspicion were rife.

What is this Party which produced such a political sensation and which, since, has become so important to the affairs of the whole African continent? Its full name is the *Herenigde Nasionale* Party, from which it derives its common abbreviation H.N.P. The title in English would be, the Reunited National Party. It originated in 1933 when Hertzog and his followers decided to form an alliance with the Smuts Party in an attempt to bridge the differences between Afrikaner and British, and thus to face the economic crisis with a unified European community. It was in opposition to this fusion policy that Dr Malan and his followers formed the H.N.P. as an attempt to preserve the separateness of the Afrikaner section of the nation.

In 1939 the division of opinion as to the part South Africa should play in the war against the Nazis re-united many of

Hertzog's supporters with the National Party, which saw its opportunity to organize Afrikaner sentiment during the war years. During the war period the National Party took the lead in opposing the part which South Africa played in the Allied cause, and, on many occasions, its leaders expressed sentiments very close to those of the National Socialists. They concentrated upon formulating the structure of a new Afrikaner Republic which would have given the Afrikaner section of the European population supremacy over the British. For instance, at the end of January 1942, the Nationalist newspapers published, with the permission and authority of Dr Malan, a 'Draft Constitution for the Republic', with one national anthem 'Die Stem Van Suid-Afrika', Afrikaans as the first official language, state-selected burghers as the only citizens, and, as head of the state, a State President, who:

is further directly and only responsible to God, over and against the people, for his deeds in the fulfilment of his duties, and in his actions in connection with the last-named, as well as the carrying out of the holding of his office. He is altogether independent of any vote of Parliament.

The character of this new form of state constitution bore out the words of many of the leaders of the National Party. For instance, Mr Swart, now Minister of Justice, suggested that 'this British-Jewish democracy we must eradicate root and shoot.' Dr Malan himself asked:

Is it not time for us to base our national life upon another foundation by breaking away from democracy? No one who thinks over conditions will want to take democracy as we know it under his protection.

And on another occasion the same speaker asserted that:

For some time the Republican Government will have to have absolute authority in order to establish the Republic. Problems . . . will have to be solved—problems which cannot be solved under the democratic machinery.

This Christian-National-Republicanism was a deliberate contradiction of the liberal individualism, the constitutionalism and the parliamentarianism of traditional democratic ideas and the

whole basis was perhaps best summed up by Dr Otto du Plessis, then Enlightenment Secretary of the National Party, and now Director of the State Information Service, when he wrote in his *The New South Africa* in 1940:

The New Order is conducted by a totalitarian conception which finds expression in a disciplined system of government in which all power is concentrated in a party or a leader, who is a personification of the whole nation and who interprets through his will the view of life or ideology of the nation.

The philosophy at the basis of the New Order in every state is undiluted and unequivocal nationalism: nation and fatherland come before everything else.

The state and the nation are all-powerful. Every citizen and every corporation and organization and every group functions as a subdivision of the state, and in the interest of the nation as a whole the national community is consistently in every sphere of national life placed above the individual and sectional interests.

Believing that the Nazis and Fascists had defeated the European conception of democracy, the South African Nationalists considered that the time was ripe to publish their ideas on the organizing of the state. To what extent their conceptions were influenced by National Socialist and Fascist practice is difficult to determine, but it would seem that the order and discipline enforced in the dictatorships of Germany and Italy appealed to the traditional anti-liberal sentiments of Boer puritanism. To what extent the Nationalist leaders continued to hold such views after the war and the defeat of National Socialism is not known. In the Election of 1943, held in the usual wartime conditions, they were soundly defeated throughout the country, but when they gained their revenge in 1948, many people remembered their wartime ideas and feared for the democratic future of the South African nation.

There was another fear amongst many people of South Africa when the victory of the Nationalists was announced. Somewhere in the background of the political scene, but playing an important part in the thought and policy-making of the National Party, was the secret society known as the 'Afrikaner Broederbond', of which many of the leading figures of the National Party had

admitted membership. It is difficult to estimate the actual relationship between the Broederbond and the National Party and, because of its secrecy, it is impossible to describe accurately this strange society. I heard from reliable sources when in the country that, at one of its conferences, members of the United Party had succeeded in setting up a recording apparatus within the conference hall and that the records produced made startling listening. But this was hearsay, and unless the United Party sees fit to play such records in public, if it indeed possesses them, it must remain so.

Perhaps the most reliable document describing the Broederbond was that which it issued itself in a statement to the Press on December 14th 1944, signed by Professor J. C. van Rooy and Mr I. Lombard as its Chairman and Secretary respectively. The statement begins with the declaration that:

The Afrikaner Broederbond was born out of the deep conviction that the Afrikaner nation was planted in this country by the hand of God and is destined to continue to exist as a nation with its own character and own calling.

It continues with this definition of its purpose:

The establishment of a healthy and progressive unanimity among all Afrikaners who strive for the welfare of the Afrikaner nation;

The awakening of national self-assurance among Afrikaners and the inspiration of love for the language, religion, traditions, country, and people;

The promotion of all the interests of the Afrikaner people;

The language of the Bond is Afrikaans; party politics is excluded from the Bond; only those can be members who are Afrikaans-speaking, of Protestant faith, of clean character, who are firm in the principle of maintaining their Afrikanerhood and who accept South Africa as their only Fatherland;

From every member it is expected that he will live and act in the firm belief that the destiny of nations is guided by the hand of God, and that he at all times by his behaviour will hold high the honour, dignity, and good name of the Afrikaner Broederbond.

The close connection between this society, which deemed it wise to hold its meetings in secret, and the new Nationalist Government, lent greater weight to the fear that the new Government would attempt to place Afrikaner descent and the Afrikaner

language as a priority in the qualifications for full citizenship in the state and would attempt to build a state dominated by the old, strictly disciplined and patriarchal society of the ox-waggon, derived from the traditions of the Great Trek. It seemed likely that the principles of liberalism and democracy derived from Europe would suffer a considerable eclipse under the rule of the new Government.

But perhaps the greatest fear amongst the peoples of South Africa when the new Government took office was that of the Non-Europeans. They had had little confidence or trust in the Smuts Government and had seen the evils consequent upon the great influx into the towns multiplying year by year with very little attempt to deal with them. They had seen the Fusion Government of 1936 deprive the Cape Natives of their old established right to a qualified vote on the common roll, and they had seen Smuts increasing his resistance to Non-European social pressure in the passage of the Asiatic Land Tenure Act of 1946. Already, before Dr Malan became Prime Minister, the Native Representative Council had adjourned *sine die* as a protest against the lack of consultation afforded by the Government and the complete absence of any real power or influence.

They had seen strikes ruthlessly broken up, measures of segregation spreading, whilst the appalling conditions of the shanty towns continued as an ever-deepening blot upon the fair land of their country.

Yet they undoubtedly saw the accession to power of the Nationalist Government as a new threat to their interests and as a still greater obstacle to the attainment of that equality of opportunity for which they fought. The Nationalist Government's election programme and propaganda had made it clear that they did not regard the Non-European as in the same category of humanity as the white man, and they had already promised the European electorate that they would complete the logic of the Hertzog Acts of 1936 by abolishing all forms of Native representation and by removing the Coloured voters from the common electoral roll. The God whom the members of the National Party worshipped

was a God with two sets of subjects—the elite white man and the lesser beings, the descendents of Ham, cursed for eternity by a darker pigmentation.

In spite of increasing disillusion with the promises and conciliatory words of Smuts and his followers, many Non-Europeans had still cherished the hope that they would be allowed to progress economically, socially, and politically under the Smuts regime. In particular they based their hopes on the personality of Jan Hofmeyer, Smuts' lieutenant, who, in spite of his prominent position in the Smuts camp, still maintained a consistently liberal outlook towards the racial question. Some moderate elements in each of the Non-European communities held that it was still possible to retain bridges of contact between Europeans and Non-Europeans and it was these sections who were represented in such organizations as the Native Representative Council and the Coloured Advisory Council. They believed that by diplomatic bargaining and by personal argument they could convince the members of the Smuts Party of the justice of their claims and at least look forward to a gradual evolutionary progress which would give the better educated members of their community a chance to approach equality.

The effect of this body of opinion upon the Non-European communities themselves was to divide them into bitterly opposing camps, fighting each other with even greater heat than they fought against the European politician.

The effect of the rise to power of the National Party put an end to almost all these hopes. It is true that the sections of Non-European opinion which had believed in negotiation rather than direct action have maintained a more conciliatory tone and it is also true that internecine warfare has continued in the political ranks of Non-Europeans right down to this day. It took some time before the full implications of the attainment of office of the National Party were realized by Non-Europeans and more than six months after the General Election it was still possible for bitter and murderous feuds to break out between Indians and Africans in Durban.

Yet, to all sections of political opinion within the Non-European communities, it was apparent from May 1948 that a new chapter had been opened in their political history. That chapter might be a continuation from the previous pages but it still marked a very definite climax in the story.

Its effects were twofold. In the first place, it was obvious that most of these bridges of consultation and conciliation which had existed either in fact or in hopes under the Smuts regime, would very soon be broken down. The conciliatory groups were therefore seen to be discredited. Secondly, it now became clear that all sections of the Non-Europeans would come within range of the Government's fire and that no section could hope to retain the prospect of being treated on a par with Europeans. In these circumstances the only hope of significant opposition lay in the unifying of Non-European action. Even moderate groups came to recognize this fact and whilst they might still retain the desire to negotiate where possible, fundamentally they knew that they would now have to join the fight in association with all other Non-Europeans.

Since May 1948 the slender links which had previously joined Non-European opinion and at least the liberal sections of the European community, have steadily and progressively been cut. The accession to power of the National Party accomplished what the Non-European leaders for half a century had failed to achieve—the basic unifying of the Non-European communities within one camp. In future, the application of Apartheid was to be seen by the Non-European generally as a European attack upon the human dignity and rights of all Non-Europeans, and they were to regard the South African scene increasingly as a battle-ground in which the two opposing camps were each organizing themselves for the conflicts to come. It was going to be increasingly difficult, if not impossible, for either the European liberals to maintain some slight influence with the Non-European, or for the Non-European leaders themselves to restrain their followers from adopting an anti-white nationalism, based upon the emotions of frustration and the feeling of tyrannical injustice. Whatever might

be the logic or reasonableness of these emotions, the fact could not be escaped that the rise to power of a Nationalist Government based upon a programme of Apartheid, was the signal for the clearing of the battlefield and the heralding of ever more bitter conflicts ahead.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT IN ACTION

THE FEARS OF the British section of the European population that the accession to power of the Nationalist Government would mean the development of a state in which the Afrikaner would become privileged, were soon aggravated when the new Government began to introduce its legislation. The first important Act passed by the Nationalist Government was the Citizenship Act, which became law on June 29th, 1949. As citizenship is an essential qualification for the franchise, this Act not merely had a constitutional significance, but also an importance in the political field. Its main significance is to be found in Section 8, which defines the provisions for securing a Certificate of Registration. Not only is common citizenship within the Commonwealth now abolished in South Africa, but under this Act, a citizen of any Commonwealth country or of the Republic of Ireland now has to reside within the Union for five years instead of the previous two to qualify for a Certificate of Registration. What is perhaps equally important in this section of the Act, is the use of the word 'may'. Registration as a South African citizen is not automatic after five years of residence, but, after such residence, the Minister 'may' grant a Certificate at his discretion. One of the other provisions of qualification is 'an adequate knowledge of the responsibilities and privileges of South African citizenship', and the Minister may also: establish such facilities as to him may appear necessary or desirable to enable applicants for Certificates of Registration or naturalization under this Act to receive instruction in the responsibilities and privileges of South African citizenship.

Not only do these 'responsibilities and privileges' offer both a loop-hole for refusal of citizenship and an opportunity to enforce the ideology of a particular Government, but, in any case,

The granting of a Certificate of Registration shall be in the absolute

discretion of the Minister, and he may, without assigning any reason, grant or refuse a Certificate as he thinks most conducive to the public good, and no appeal shall lie from his decision.

In effect, this Act first lengthens the time of qualification, and will thus reduce the number of immigrants entitled to the franchise, and, secondly, it gives the Minister absolute power at the end of that period of qualification to determine whether or not the immigrant shall be allowed to vote. The opportunity for a Government to determine the number and kind of voters according to its own political convenience is too obvious to need elaboration. It is equally clear that, because of the large percentage of immigrants coming from Britain, it is the British-descended settlers who have most cause to fear a diminution of political influence.

The second important Act, passed by the Nationalist Government shortly afterwards, is that known as the 'Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act'. This logically resulted from the determination of the National Party to keep entirely separate the European and Non-European sections of the community. The principle which it establishes, 'A marriage between a European and a Non-European may not be solemnized, and any such marriage solemnized in contravention of the provisions of this Section shall be void and of no effect', is generally accepted by South African Europeans. These intermarriages are so infrequent that many South Africans consider that legislation is unnecessary for their prohibition. The most important impact of this Act will be upon those Coloured people who have previously passed as white, and, in those 'in-between' sections of the population, considerable hardship and sorrow will undoubtedly be caused. There is no doubt, either, that this prohibition tends to be regarded as a further indignity and affront to the Non-Europeans, and is a dangerous attempt to transfer social prejudices to the Statute Book.

Already, one couple, consisting of a Malay and a European, who thought that they had been legally married in July 1949, were told in October that, because of the late arrival of the relative Government gazette in Cape Town, their marriage had

been declared null and void. Another couple, the girl being pregnant, was refused marriage, although both parties had been brought up as Europeans, when it was discovered that the grandparent of one of them had been a Non-European.

The Church, too, must look jealously upon this interference by the State in the performance of one of its functions. One priest, on being prosecuted for conducting the marriage ceremony between a European and a Non-European, took the case to the Supreme Court, where his action was vindicated on the grounds that he believed both partners to have been European.

This is the keystone of the issue which the Act raises. Many of the Coloured people of the Cape, for instance, are much lighter-skinned than some Europeans from the northern provinces. The Act attempts a very difficult task in defining European and Non-European. In Section I (1) (a) (ii), it lays down that:

Any party to such marriage professing to be a European or a non-European, as the case may be, is in appearance obviously what he professes to be, or is able to show, in the case of a party professing to be a European, that he habitually consorts with Europeans as a European, or in the case of a party professing to be a non-European, that he habitually consorts with non-Europeans as a non-European.

Yet this definition, particularly in the case of the Cape, may have such a wide interpretation as to make its operation almost impossible.

The obvious consequence of this Act would be for couples to ignore the formality of marriage, and to live together without marrying. Even the law cannot regulate the affections of men and women, and the fact that this law was considered necessary is, in itself, a contradiction of the assertion that Europeans and Non-Europeans desire no contact with each other. This natural consequence of the Act is being forestalled, however, by the Government's action, at the beginning of the 1950 session, in passing an Amendment to the Immorality Act of 1927. According to this Act, illicit carnal intercourse between European and Native was declared illegal on penalty of imprisonment of up to five years for men and four years for women. For the purpose of the Act,

'illicit carnal intercourse' is defined as 'carnal intercourse other than between husband and wife', and the term 'Native' means 'any member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa'.

Not satisfied with this prohibition, the Government decided to extend the provisions of the Act to include all Non-Europeans. In this way all sexual relations between European and Non-European, the latter including Coloureds and Indians as well as Natives, is prohibited.

It may be said, in this connection, that there is a great deal of hypocrisy amongst the European community on the issue of sexual relations with Non-Europeans. The existence of over a million Coloured people is sufficient proof in itself that many Europeans have not always regarded such relations as undesirable. Indeed, in the early days of the Dutch settlers, very few European women were taken to live in South Africa, and unions of either a formal or an informal type took place between European men and the women slaves brought from the Dutch East Indies or from East Africa. It was not until the arrival of European women in considerable numbers that prohibition began to be enforced socially.

It is a well-known fact that many who today claim to be of 'pure white blood' are actually descended from Coloured ancestors. The number is sometimes put as high as 500,000 of the present European community, but, although the fact is well known, it is hypocritically kept out of normal conversation.

A similar taboo is enforced on the equally well-known fact that many prominent South Africans, including politicians who advocate Apartheid, were by no means always so averse to cohabitation with Non-European women as their present speeches would have us believe. One almost gets the impression that the enforcement by law of this rigid sexual separation comes from minds beset by a guilt complex.

However this may be, the fact cannot be denied that the passage of both these Acts has led to a distinct lowering of the whole social atmosphere of the country. Prohibition of marriage between two individuals in love is the most tragic form of State interference

with private life, and must lead to intense sorrow and unhappiness. Prohibition of an individual's sexual choice is an even greater infringement of human rights, and the methods of enforcement employed fill any decent-minded person with loathing and disgust. The issue is most acute in the Cape, where Coloured and European mix frequently, and often can hardly be distinguished. Whilst I was in Cape Town and the Western Cape Province, it became a regular and frequent sight on any night of the week to see police cars of the Anti-vice Squad touring certain roads and lonely areas, shining their spotlights into parked cars. Day after day, the newspapers reported a whole succession of cases of alleged infringements of this law, the penalties ranging up to six months' imprisonment. On one occasion a couple were prosecuted after living together as man and wife for fifteen years and having three children. On another, a couple who were waiting to leave the country in order to marry, and who had been living together whilst waiting for a passage, were imprisoned on the same count. For every case brought to the courts, there must have been scores of such private investigations by the police, and such methods cannot but result in a tremendous vulgarization of the whole social atmosphere of the country.

The next important measure enacted by the Government was the Population Act, also passed in the 1950 session. This Act makes provision for the compilation of a Register of the population of the Union. As such, it only follows the example set by most other countries in modern times. The difference in the South African case is that, not only will the normal details of name, address, nationality, etc. be recorded, but every person is to be: classified by the Director as a white person, coloured person or native, as the case may be, and every coloured person and every native whose name is so included shall be classified by the Director according to the ethnic or other group to which he belongs.

In other words, the identity card which is to be issued is to have inscribed upon it the racial origin of the individual, and this will be reinforced by the affixing of a recent photograph which shall, incidentally, be provided at the expense of the

individual himself. A further and equally significant difference from the practice in other nations, is the requirement that a copy of the Register and its details shall be kept at the office of the magistrate of every district, where it shall be available for inspection by the public. Any person can then make an objection to the racial classification of any other individual, depositing with the Director the sum of £10. In this way, the Act deliberately makes provision for the encouragement of the common informer.

It has been widely stated in South Africa that this compilation of a Population Register cannot possibly be achieved with any accuracy, with the present rudimentary control of people's movements, and that, in any case, it will require an enormous sum of money to attempt to carry it out. Whether or not this is so, is difficult to determine, but the fact cannot be escaped that a deliberate attempt is being made to classify every individual inhabitant according to his racial origin; that such classification is to be made public, and that the spiteful and vindictive activities of informers are deliberately encouraged. Nevertheless, without some such attempt, the other measures of racial separation can hardly be carried into effect. Once again, this policy of separation is seen to be leading directly to a regimentation of the inhabitants, and to further distress and unhappiness amongst those whose racial determination is indistinct.

In May 1951 the census was taken which will form the basis of the Population Register. At the time of writing it is not possible to pass any judgement on the efficiency with which this was carried out. But much more significant than its efficiency is the fact that it has become clear that the Nationalist Government needs this census for its major measures of Apartheid. Until this register is completed it will be difficult to operate fully the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts, though both are already in at least partial operation, or to put into practice the Group Areas Act and the Separate Representation of Voters Act. Not until the entire population of the country is officially classified can the administration of Apartheid be fully implemented. Moreover, the political future of the country may well be considerably affected by the

speed and efficiency with which this census is completed. It is obvious that the present Government will not wish to hold the next General Election until the classification is complete, the Coloured voters can be clearly determined and removed from the common electoral roll and the constituencies can be delimited. Any Government in office with such strong cards in its hands to influence the next election would wait until they could be played. It is therefore virtually certain that the next election will not take place until this census is complete, the population register published and the Separate Representation of Voters Act fully implemented.

It is the Group Areas Act, produced immediately after the Population Registration Act, which shows in the clearest of colours the full nature of the policy of Apartheid. This Act has indeed been described by the Minister of the Interior as one of the main pillars of the policy of the Government. For the purpose of this Act, the inhabitants of the country are again divided into three groups; a White group, a Native group and a Coloured group. Additional power is given to the Governor-General to sub-divide either the Native or the Coloured Group, and since the Act was passed, the Minister of the Interior has promised that the Native group will be divided into different tribes, whilst Indians will form a separate part of the Coloured group.

Having secured this division:

The Governor-General may, whenever it is deemed expedient, . . . declare that . . . the area defined in the proclamation shall be an area for occupation by members of the groups specified therein; or shall declare that . . . the area defined in the proclamation shall be an area for ownership by members of the group specified therein.

After such proclamations are made, only members of the specified groups may either occupy or own property within the given area.

Once the Act comes into operation in any province, by proclamation of the Governor-General, no person other than one of the particular race defined will be able to buy, sell or rent property without a permit from the Minister, which may be issued or

refused at his sole discretion. Similarly, no land or property may be owned or occupied in the area except by the particular racial group. In other words, in any area in which there is residential or business mixing between the races, there will be wholesale evictions from homes and businesses. If it should happen that any person leaves property in a will to someone in the wrong racial grouping, such a will 'shall be null and void'.

In order that the Minister shall be advised on the areas to be allocated to different races, he will appoint not more than seven members to form a Land Tenure Advisory Board, which is granted very wide power of inquiry. It may, for instance:

at all reasonable times enter upon and inspect any land or premises for the purpose of any investigation conducted by it or authorize any person nominated by the Chairman of the Board so to enter upon and inspect such land or premises.

The Minister may appoint inspectors who shall have the power: without previous notice, at any time during the day or night, to enter upon any premises whatsoever, and make such examination and inquiry as may be necessary; at any time and at any place, require from any person who has the possession, custody or control of any book, record or other document, the production thereof, then and there, or at a time and place fixed by the Inspector; question, either alone or in the presence of any person as he thinks fit, with respect to any matter relative to any such purpose, any person whom he finds on any premises entered under this section; require any person whom he has reasonable grounds for believing to be in possession of information relevant to any such purpose to appear before him at a time and place fixed by him and then and there question that person concerning any matter relevant to any such purpose. An Inspector entering any premises . . . may be accompanied by an interpreter or any member of the South African police.

It will immediately be seen that, by this Act, the Government has taken tremendous powers over the private lives and property of the entire population. It can now evict people from their homes and businesses, force them to sell up at cheap rates, and have no responsibility for providing them with any alternative accommodation, or restoring them to business premises. Nominally, the Act applies equally to all racial groups, but one does not need to

be a prophet to foresee that it will be the Non-Europeans who will be affected most severely. It is obvious that the pleasant areas, those now mainly occupied by Europeans, will be preserved for the white community, and that any Non-Europeans now within them will be weeded out. The Non-European areas will be the slum quarters of the towns, and, although in the division into group areas it might be that jealousy is occasioned between different sections of Non-Europeans, the general impression is that the Act is yet another attack upon the human rights of the Non-European population as a whole, and will be strenuously resisted by them all. In particular, the permitted activities of the inspectors in going into homes, shops and business premises, and making inspections without warning or consideration for any form of privacy, can be expected to arouse the same kind of opposition as that now to be seen in the liquor raids which are a constant cause of conflict throughout the Rand.

Again, it has been frequently suggested that this ideological Act cannot, in fact, be put into operation. It will certainly take a great deal of money and organization to make the attempt, and it is unlikely that it will come into effect in a short time. Nevertheless, it should not be supposed that the Nationalist Government has taken the trouble to secure its passage through Parliament, where discussion was limited to fifty-two hours, without having the intention of using it to implement their policy of Apartheid. Although it is improbable that distinct and separate areas can be defined and fully constituted immediately, it is quite possible that the Government can make a start in the definition of white areas, and compel any Non-Europeans within them to leave. Certainly, the Government supporters expect them to follow this policy, particularly in the environs of Johannesburg and Durban. Standing on a little hill, just outside the city of Johannesburg, I looked across the valley to see the wide road which forms no-man's land between the White area of Westdene and the Coloured quarter of Sophiatown. Shortly afterwards, I drove down Hamilton Road, dividing Coloured New Clare from White Newlands. In each case, and in many others in this area, members of rural European

families, mainly Afrikaner, have come in from the country to try their hand at city business. Often they fail, having little flair for and no experience in business, and look covetously across the road at the more successful development of Non-Europeans. Many of them cross the road to do their shopping in Non-European shops, and it is quite common, when they are in financial difficulties, for them to sell their houses to Non-Europeans.

Yet there is a constant state of tension between the two communities which frequently breaks out into riots and shooting. It was here that the Europeans came out into the streets with their guns during the riots of February 1950, and attempted to start indiscriminate shooting of all Non-Europeans on sight.

In Durban, some of the more successful Indian business men have had the temerity to buy houses in the European areas. Here they show that the Non-European, with the financial resources necessary, can attain quite as high a standard of living as the European himself.

It is from these quarters that comes the most insistent demand for the application of the Group Areas Act, which, so the Europeans hope, will remove Non-Europeans from their sight, and give them the opportunity of acquiring Non-European areas cheaply for their own development.^[2]

The last Act to be passed by the Government, on the last day of the 1950 session, is perhaps the most serious Act ever passed in the history of South Africa. It is designed to give the Government extremely wide powers to implement that section of their election programme which stated 'Churches and societies which undermine the policy of Apartheid and propagate doctrines foreign to the nation will be checked.'

The Act is known as the 'Suppression of Communism Act', but the definition of Communism given within it and the arbitrary powers taken by the Government, show that its application can have a much wider impact than that simply of a defence against Communism. This Act was passed through Parliament by the use of the guillotine in only thirty hours, and can be seen as the final step in the building up by the Government of machinery which

gives them power over almost every detail of private and public life in the country.

The Act begins by a series of definitions, the most important of which are those on 'Communism' and 'Communist'. Communism is defined as:

The doctrine of Marxist Socialism as expounded by Lenin and Trotsky, the Third Communist International (the Comintern) or the Communist Information Bureau (the Cominform) or any related form of that doctrine expounded or advocated in the Union for the promotion of the fundamental principles of that doctrine, and includes, in particular, any doctrine or scheme—

(a) which aims at the establishment of a despotic system of government based on the dictatorship of the proletariat under which one political organization only is recognized and all other political organizations are suppressed or eliminated; or

(b) which aims at bringing about any political, industrial, social or economic change within the Union by the promotion of disturbance or disorder, by unlawful acts or omissions or by the threat of such acts or omissions or by means which include the promotion of disturbances or disorder or such acts or omissions or threats; or

(c) which aims at bringing about any political, industrial, social or economic change within the Union in accordance with the directions or under the guidance of or in co-operation with any foreign government or any foreign or international institution whose purpose or one of whose purposes (professed or otherwise) is to promote the establishment within the Union of any political, industrial, social or economic system identical with or similar to any system in operation in any country which has adopted a system of government such as is described in para. (a); or

(d) which aims at the encouragement of feelings of hostility between European and non-European races of the Union, the consequences of which are calculated to further the achievements of any objects referred to in para. (a) or (b).

A Communist is taken, according to this Act, to mean:

A person who professes to be a communist, or who, after having been given a reasonable opportunity of making such representation as he may consider necessary, is deemed by the Governor-General, or, in the case of an inhabitant of the territory of South-West Africa, by the Administrator of the said territory, to be a communist on the ground that he is advocating, advising, defending or encouraging, or

has at any time after the date of the commencement of this Act, advocated, advised, defended or encouraged the achievement of any of the objects of communism or any act or omission which is calculated to further the achievement of any such objects.

It will be seen from these definitions that in fact the Government has taken power to declare anyone or any organization who opposes it to be Communist. It conforms with that notorious statement of Mr Strydom, Minister of Lands, who, in November 1948, declared that opposition to Apartheid was as treasonable as refusing to take up arms in the defence of one's country, for it provides the Government with the opportunity to declare as Communist anyone or any organization whose actions it interprets to be encouraging feelings of hostility between Europeans and Non-Europeans, or anyone whose propaganda it identifies as being in any way Socialistic.

The Act continues by declaring the Communist Party of South Africa and all its branches, sections and committees and any of its local, regional or subsidiary bodies to be an unlawful organization. Power is also taken to close down without a hearing and without notice any organization, with the exception of an employers' organization or a registered trade union, which, in the opinion of the Governor-General, is engaged in activities calculated to further the achievement of any of the objects of Communism. Whenever any such organization is banned, its properties are to be vested in the liquidator, and, after the payment of debts, distributed to charitable or scientific organizations.

The Minister is then empowered to draw up a black list of individuals who are present or past members or active supporters of a banned organization, and can prohibit them from becoming members of Parliament, or provincial councils or of any other public body or organization. The Governor-General may ban the publication of newspapers or periodicals if he believes that they are calculated to promote the interests of Communism, and may appoint an investigator with powers to enter premises by day or night and to question persons as he thinks fit.

If, during a prosecution, it is proved that an individual attended

a meeting of an unlawful organization, he will be presumed to have been a member or active supporter of such organization, unless he can prove to the contrary. The onus of proof is upon him, and there is no appeal from any proclamation declaring an organization to be unlawful, declaring an individual to be a supporter of such organization, nor deeming a person to be a Communist. The penalty for acting in such a way as to further the interests of a banned organization, is imprisonment up to a period of ten years, and for refusal to obey the Minister's instructions, imprisonment up to three years.

One hardly needs to analyse the provisions of this Act as here outlined to show the very great dangers arising from it. It is no exaggeration to say that complete and arbitrary power is placed in the hands of the Cabinet to go outside the normal channels of the law and to assume a position, in practice, of prosecution, judge and jury. The consequence of the Act is to place every opponent of the Government under the uncontrolled power of members of the Cabinet, and thus, however the Act may be administered, to instil by threat a widespread fear of the consequences of any action, writing or speech. By this Act, the Government has indeed power to suppress any form of opposition which may arise to it, be it European or Non-European.

After the Act was passed in 1950 a number of legal actions were taken to test the validity of different parts of the Act. The most important of these was that of Mr Sam Kahn, the Communist member of the House of Assembly. In order to overcome these legal difficulties and to defeat the tactics of the South African Communist Party, which dissolved itself just before the Act was passed, the Government introduced an amendment to this Act in the 1951 session. The amendment makes even greater inroads into what are normally considered the principles of the rule of law and democratic practice. It brings within the orbit of the Act all who have been members of a Communist Party or supported the ideas of Communism in any part of the world and it makes the operation of the Act retrospective. Under its provisions the Government can now take action against anyone whom it accuses

of having been a Communist or supporter of Communism *before* the Act came into operation. The retrospective principle has always been anathema to democratic law and ethics. That a man should be accused, tried and punished for something he did when it was perfectly legal is apt to destroy all confidence in the equity of law and produce an atmosphere, if not a practice, of tyranny.

Apart from this large and important body of legislation, the Government has taken a number of administrative actions calculated to supplement the laws which it passes. Perhaps the most important of these is its attitude towards the granting of passports. In its election programme, the National Party stated that: 'The Party will not tolerate interference from without and destructive propaganda to the outside world in regard to the racial problems of South Africa.'

In pursuance of this policy, in September 1948, the Minister of Justice confiscated the passports of the two Indian leaders, Dr Dadoo and Dr Naicker, who were on their way to the United Nations, and shortly afterwards tried to do the same to Michael Scott. Later the Supreme Court was to give judgement against this action, but, in the meantime, the Minister had withdrawn the passports of Mr E. S. Sachs, Secretary of the Garment Workers' Union, who wished to attend a Trade Union Conference in Europe, and had cancelled the endorsement on the passports of Mr and Mrs Ballinger, both Members of Parliament. He has also refused passports to numbers of Non-Europeans wishing to study abroad, and will continue to pursue the same policy, particularly in relation to Non-European students granted scholarships by the Government of India. The Minister defended his action in the House on the grounds that the Government intended to restrict both the import and the export of Communism, and, immediately after the judgement of the Supreme Court, he reduced the period of validity of passports and renewals from five years to one year. The Government has announced that it intends to introduce new passport legislation and it is widely believed that it will take power to cancel or withdraw passports at will. It has now (1951) introduced new passports, on which it is indicated that the pass-

port is the property of the Government, and may be withdrawn at any time.

It is to be noted also that these new ministerial powers in regard to passports have already been used against an important European member of a Government department. In May 1951 Dr T. Alper, the South African woman atomic scientist, resigned her post as head of the biophysics section of the National Physical Laboratory at Pretoria. She was to have visited Britain to see some of the recent developments in nuclear research, but the Minister of the Interior refused, without giving any reason, to give her a passport. In a statement on the incident Dr Alper stated that she had never taken any active part in politics nor been a member of a political organization. The only action she had taken which she believed could have caused this action of the Minister was to sign a petition against the Separate Representation of Voters Bill, invited others to sign it and spoken against the Bill in private conversation. No one could consider this other than the normal action of a democratic citizen—unless the term ‘citizen’ is considered synonymous with supporter of all government policy.

Such action, together with the Government’s refusal to guarantee the admission of Non-European delegates to the proposed British Medical Association’s conference in Johannesburg, is obviously rapidly cutting off important sections of the South African population from contact with the outside world and driving South Africa itself into a dangerous state of isolation—a state which always encourages fanaticism, obscurantism and oppression of opinion.

This policy again increased the lively sense of fear amongst every opponent of the present Government, for it means that the Government itself has the arbitrary power to decide whether one should be able to cross the boundaries of the State.

In pursuance of the same policy, members of the Government, led by the Prime Minister, have made frequent attacks upon the English-speaking and overseas journalists, and have now set up a Government Commission into the Press, which, we have already been told, will prove that the actions and intentions of the Government are distorted by the English papers. At the same

time, transmission of the B.B.C. news by the South African Broadcasting Corporation was brought to an end in July 1950, and only South African news broadcasts are now transmitted.

The revelation by the Government that an overseas news telegram had been intercepted and stopped showed that some censorship of news leaving the country is conducted, and there is no doubt again but that this implied threat has an extremely restricting effect upon South African journalists. News which may be interpreted as a criticism of the Government's actions and policies can only be sent out at the risk of the Government taking action against the journalist involved.

The Nationalists have also gone a long way towards implementing their declared aim that 'the State will exercise complete supervision over the moulding of the youth.' The use of the word 'moulding' is significant, and forms the basis of the Government's educational scheme known as Christian-National Education. This scheme is based on the very narrow-minded outlook of the Calvinist, and the Church is given wide powers to control both teachers and teaching. Darwinism, for instance, will be taboo, and the Old Testament fables of evolution will be substituted. The scheme, as a whole, is clearly intended to produce well-doctrinated Nationalists.

The same trend is to be seen in the passing of the Language Ordinance in the Transvaal, where the Provincial Council, which controls most of the education, has a Nationalist majority. The Ordinance takes away from the parent the right of selecting a school for the child and arbitrarily compels every child to be educated in the language which it is thought is used in the home. At the same time, the University of Potchefstroom has also been given the power to restrict the conscience clause, which has become one of the fundamental principles in educational institutions throughout the world.

The Universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand still retain a small proportion of Non-European students and allow them to mix freely in their classes. This policy has been roundly attacked by members of the Government, and the five medical scholarships

which were given to Africans to study in the medical school of Witwatersrand were abolished in April 1949. The protest raised by this action led to the restoration of three of the scholarships, and the indignation amongst the students themselves was so great that they voluntarily subscribed to attempt a complete restoration. Indeed, the Government has frequently expressed its opinion that the education of Non-Europeans should be quite different from that of Europeans, and that the former should forsake book-learning for practical training. A Native Education Commission has been set up to give advice along these lines. In April 1949, the Minister of Education announced that school feeding amongst Non-Europeans would be drastically reduced to teach the Non-Europeans self-dependence, apparently in contrast to the attitude towards Europeans.

In many other ways, the Government and its Ministers have been steadily introducing the negative side of the policy of Apartheid. The Minister of Lands, for instance, ordered that Native artisans were no longer to be trained, for fear that they might compete with Europeans. Apartheid has been introduced for the first time on trains and in post offices in the Cape. The Minister of Justice has publicly supported farmers in setting up their own private jails from which they can supplement farm labour by the use of convicts sentenced by the courts. The Cape Corps, consisting of Coloured non-combatant forces, has been dissolved. [8]

The whole effect of this policy since 1948 has been not only to separate increasingly European and Non-European, but to drive all sections of the Non-European communities into unified opposition and to intensify continually the atmosphere of suspicion and fear which haunts all sections of the South African nation. The Afrikaner is frightened of the mass of Non-Europeans and of the financial and commercial skill of British immigrants; the British are frightened of the growing arbitrary powers of the Nationalists; the Jews are frightened of Nationalist anti-Semitism; all Non-Europeans are increasingly frightened of the growing and arrogant domination of the Europeans. South Africa has now become a

land of fear, and those fears breed tensions, prejudices and brutalities which can only strain the nerves of the population and lead to increasing conflict and the destruction of reason.

In the few weeks after I left South Africa at the end of August 1950, three important events occurred, each of which has separately increased the power of the National Party. On August 30th, the elections in South-West Africa gave the National Party six additional seats in the House of Assembly, and four in the Senate. On September 11th, General Smuts died, and the one great figure leading the opposition to the Nationalists was thus removed from the political scene. On October 13th, Dr Malan and Mr Havenga announced that they had come to an agreement over the issue of the Cape Coloured vote.

In the South-West Africa elections the Government had decided that this ex-German Colony was entitled to six seats in the House of Assembly. Only Europeans were allowed to vote, of course, and the registered electorate comprised about 26,000 people. This gave each constituency just over 4,000 votes each compared with the average within the Union of about 9,000. South-West Africa has thus been allocated over twice the number of seats which is its due in proportion to the Union, and this may well have been because the Nationalists believed that the important German section of the electorate would wish to take its revenge on the United Party for the internment policy of the war years. In the event, it appeared that the 10 per cent. German vote was just sufficient to turn the scale.

The addition of these six to their numbers made the Nationalists' position in the House of Assembly much stronger. Before the election they had held a majority of only seven, which included the nine members of the Afrikaner Party. After the election, their majority rose to thirteen, and they were no longer dependent on the Afrikaner Party for a majority. It is true that, if all members of the Afrikaner Party voted against the Government, it would still be defeated, but that contingency is extremely improbable, because most of the members of this Party are practically identified with the National Party itself. Now, however, all of them can

abstain from voting and the Government will still have a majority of four.

The addition of the four Senators will also be a considerable relief to the National Party, for, until this addition to their strength, the numbers were practically equal in the Senate, and some Acts were only passed by the casting vote of the President.

It can be seen, therefore, that the National Party is now well in the saddle, and there is no reason to suppose that it is likely to be defeated in the foreseeable future. The death of General Smuts, too, greatly increased the power of the Government, for he was the one national figure capable of co-ordinating the various and often contradictory elements which form the opposition. With his death, it is unlikely that any strong opposition to the Government can be organized for some time to come.

The agreement on the Cape Coloured vote merits particular attention, for its historical significance has something of a symbolic quality for Non-Europeans throughout the country.

When the Cape first secured a representative constitution in 1853, no colour discrimination was admitted to the qualifications for the franchise. All men were entitled to register as voters and to stand for election to the House of Assembly if they earned £50 a year, or earned £25 and were supplied with board and lodging, or occupied a house and land with a combined value of £25. In 1892, the house and land qualification was raised to £75 and an educational test of ability to write name, address and occupation was introduced. One of the principal debates at the National Convention which drew up the provisions of Union in 1908-9 was over this issue of the Cape Non-European vote, and eventually, after a great deal of argument, it was decided to safeguard this vote in the Cape, but not to extend it to the other Provinces.

Because of the heated discussions and debates which take place over this issue, it is worth while to quote the relevant clauses of the South Africa Act of 1909, which finally granted to the Union self-government as an independent Dominion:

Clause 35 (1) Parliament may by law prescribe the qualifications necessary to entitle persons to vote at the election of Members of the House of Assembly, but no such law shall disqualify any person in the Province of the Cape of Good Hope, who, under the laws existing in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope at the establishment of the Union, is, or may become, capable of being registered as a voter from being so registered in the Province of the Cape of Good Hope by reason of his race or colour only, unless the Bill be passed by both Houses of Parliament sitting together, and at the third reading be agreed to by not less than two-thirds of the total number of Members of both Houses. A Bill so passed at such joint sitting shall be taken to have been duly passed by both Houses of Parliament.

(2) No person who, at the passing of any such law, is registered as a voter in any Province shall be removed from the register by reason only of any disqualification based on race or colour.

Clause 36. Subject to the provisions of the last preceding section, the qualifications of parliamentary voters, as existing in the several Colonies at the establishment of the Union, shall be the qualifications necessary to entitle persons in the corresponding Provinces to vote for the election of Members of the House of Assembly.

Clause 44. The qualifications of a Member of the House of Assembly shall be as follows:

he must . . . (c) be a British subject of European descent.

Clause 152. Parliament may by law repeal or alter any of the provisions of this Act: provided that . . . no repeal or alteration of the provisions contained in this section, or in Clauses . . . thirty-five, one hundred and thirty-seven, shall be valid unless the Bill embodying such repeal or alteration shall be passed by both Houses of Parliament sitting together and at the third reading be agreed to by not less than two-thirds of the total members of both Houses. A Bill so passed at such a joint sitting shall be taken to have been duly passed by both Houses of Parliament.

It will be seen that these provisions remove one right of the Non-Europeans by disqualifying them from sitting as Members of the House of Assembly. No Non-European had ever done so in the old Cape Parliament, but the right had always been there. The Non-Europeans also viewed with alarm the possibility of their voting rights being removed by Parliament, and their main organization, the African Peoples' Organization, sent a deputation to London to register their protest. To this day the Coloured

people bitterly resent the fact that the British Parliament allowed this discrimination within the Act, which had first to pass through both Houses of Parliament at Westminster.

In the 1920's a movement arose amongst the Europeans to remove the Cape Natives from the common roll of electors, and a number of Bills for this purpose were introduced into the Lower House, but in 1930 and 1931 the grant of the vote, first to European women, and then to all European men and women without qualifications, made the Non-European vote quite insignificant. For example, in 1929 there were 410,729 European voters throughout the Union, compared with 41,744 Non-European voters. In 1939 there were 1,530,555 European voters, compared with only 30,130 Non-Europeans. Not only had all Europeans now the right to vote but the Natives in the Cape had, in 1936, been removed from the common roll, and given separate representation by three European Members.

This change in the proportion of Europeans to Non-Europeans and, particularly, the removal of the Natives from the common electoral roll, had naturally alarmed the Cape Coloured people, but they had been constantly assured by General Hertzog that a complete distinction was drawn between them and the Natives, and that they should be considered as completely equal with the Europeans. He had even held that Coloured men in the other Provinces should be allowed the franchise, and had gone so far in 1926 as to introduce a Bill to this effect. His attitude on this question was also supported by a Government Commission which reported in 1937.

When the Government decided to remove the Natives from the common roll in 1936, it went out of its way to assure the Coloured people that similar action would not be taken towards them. The Coloured voters were assured that if they supported this measure they need never fear that a similar form of suppression would be applied to their franchise. The present Prime Minister, Dr Malan, had always supported the rights of the Coloured people, and, on one occasion at least, went so far as to advocate that the vote should be extended to Coloured women, saying

openly that the Coloured people should enjoy, at least in the Cape, the same political rights as the Europeans.

The other issue which was raised in this connection was whether, after the Statute of Westminster of 1931 and the Status Act of 1934 had removed all British control over Union politics, the clauses of the South Africa Act still applied. General Hertzog had no doubt that they did, and that 'the protection of Section 152 cannot be taken away'. He was supported in this view by Dr A. J. Stals, later Minister of Health, who said:

I think that no one in the House, or in the Union, doubts the moral obligation of the Parliament and the people to respect the basic principle in our Constitution;

by Mr C. R. Swart, now Minister of Justice, who said:

We feel that the entrenchment clauses are a matter of good faith and I cannot imagine that any Government would alter them by a bare majority,

and by the Speaker himself, Dr Jansen, who became Minister of Native Affairs under Dr Malan, and has now become Governor-General, who, in a considered ruling, stated:

Notwithstanding the provisions of the Statute of Westminster, I am of opinion that if we desire to amend or repeal any of the entrenchment clauses, then we must follow the procedure laid down in the South Africa Act.

Gradually Dr Malan changed his attitude towards the Coloured people, and, after the passage of the Hertzog Acts of 1936, began to agitate for the removal of the Coloured people as well as the Natives from the common roll. He was very roundly and sharply taken to task on this issue by General Hertzog, who pointed out that in order to avoid alienating the sympathy of the Coloured voters, the National Party, with the full support both of himself and of Dr Malan, had assured the Coloured people that political segregation would not be applied to them. He described Dr Malan's colour policy as taking care 'that disloyalty and faithlessness shall be the guiding line of the White man in South Africa in determining and fulfilling his duties as a guardian of the Non-European'.

But when the National Party was elected in 1948, it had declared

that it would separate the Coloured voters from the Europeans and give them independent representation within the House of Assembly. It claimed that the Non-European population was exercising a political stranglehold over the Europeans, that the vote of the Cape Coloureds was abused, and that the change would be to the benefit of the Coloured people. The first suggestion is hardly borne out by the fact that in the whole of the Cape Province, Coloured voters constitute only 8.82 per cent. of the total voters on the common roll, and have shown no signs of any considerable increase. The argument of corruption is largely based on a passage in the book of Mr B. K. Long, *In Smuts' Camp*, in which he suggests that candidates have followed the practice of bribing those who are influential in influencing Coloured voters. Yet it is well known that pressure groups exist within all political societies, and no such charge of bribery has ever been proved in connection with this tiny proportion of the total electorate. In any case, Mr Long himself states earlier in his book that:

No responsible observer, with practical experience of our politics, would say that the proportion of our white population which is worthy of the franchise is anything but startlingly low.

So far as the suggestion goes that the new arrangements would be an improvement from the point of view of the Coloured people, it is evident that all sections of the Coloured people are intensely hostile to the change and regard it as one more sign of the Nationalists' determination to cut them off from all connection with Europeans. They point out, too, that there is no reason to suppose that this is not simply one further step to the eventual abolition of all their franchise rights, and point to the example of the Natives, who were removed from the common roll in 1936 and whom the Nationalists now threaten with complete abolition of representation.

The main obstacle to the Nationalists in carrying out this policy between 1948 and 1950 was the opposition of Mr Havenga, as leader of the Afrikaner Party, but, in October 1950, soon after the General Election in South-West Africa and the death of Smuts, Mr Havenga so far withdrew his opposition as to come to

an agreement with Dr Malan to introduce a Bill which has removed Coloured voters from the common roll, given them four European Members in the House of Assembly and one in the Senate. Provision is also made for a possible increase in this number of representatives, but only subject to there being no alteration in the proportion of Coloured representatives to European representatives, which will be 4 to 150. In other words, one extra Coloured representative in the House of Assembly will only be permitted when 38 extra white representatives are appointed.

It would appear that in order to secure the support of Mr Havenga and the Afrikaner Party the Nationalists have had to modify a little their original plans. Many members of their party think that three Coloured representatives would be sufficient, that these members should not be allowed to vote on matters of confidence and that Native representation should be abolished. They also strongly object to Coloureds being allowed to remain in the Cape Provincial Council. There seems little doubt but that all these measures will be taken if the Nationalists retain power in 1953, if they are not implemented before, and it is not unlikely that the newly-created Coloured representation will be abolished during another five years of Nationalist government.

In spite of such modifications, however, the battle on the Separate Representation of Voters Bill during the 1951 session has aroused deeper passions amongst all sections of the South African nation than any other measure since the 1909 Act. At the time of writing the measure has become law, but the United Party has declared its intention of appealing to the courts, and there will undoubtedly be long legal wrangles, with strong political pressure put upon the Judiciary, before its final fate is known.^[4]

The Nationalist argument in support of the Bill has varied, and at times appeared almost contradictory. It began from the assertion that it was insupportable to allow Non-Europeans to have the power to determine the balance between the political parties in Parliament. They suggested that the 50,000 Coloured voters might well be in the position to sway sufficient seats to determine what government should gain office, and argued further that this

wedge of Non-European voters could be used to extend Non-European political rights. This, they asserted, would spell the doom of white supremacy and eventually drown the European community in the sea of superior Non-European numbers.

The difficulty in their way was the matter of the 'entrenched clauses'. They had either to secure a two-thirds majority for their action, as the South Africa Act stipulated, or to find some justification for using their simple majority alone. The former course was impossible against a united opposition and therefore they had to turn to the latter.

Their justification took two forms, rather resembling the well-known saying, 'heads I win, tails you lose'. They argued that the entrenched clauses of the South Africa Act no longer had any validity as South Africa had become a sovereign state. Yet they realized the contentious nature of this claim, and so submitted an alternative. If, they contended, the entrenched clauses remained valid, they did not apply to this Bill, as the removal of the Coloured voters from the common roll did not '. . . disqualify any person in the Province of the Cape of Good Hope . . . by reason of his race or colour only. . . .'

The constitutional arguments have been bitterly fought, but it is not necessary to analyse them fully here. It is sufficient to note that up to the present the duty has devolved on the Speaker of the House of Assembly and the President of the Senate to give rulings as to whether the two Houses of Parliament were capable of debating the Bill without recourse to the joint sitting procedure. This led in the first place to an unprecedented procedure in the House of Assembly when, at the beginning of the session, the Opposition challenged the election of the Speaker. The Government nominee, Mr J. H. Conradie, had already publicly expressed the view that the entrenched clauses were no longer valid, and the Opposition maintained that if he were elected Speaker, the issue would be already prejudged. As was to be expected, he was duly elected by the Government majority and proceeded, with the use of legal arguments supplied by the Government's legal advisors, to rule that the House of Assembly could debate the Bill and pass

it by a simple majority. His ruling was repeated similarly by the President of the Senate.

Since these rulings were made the lawyers on both sides have entered the lists to dispute their correctness. As a layman I am not competent to pass any opinion on the legal issue, but there is one constitutional point which appears to me to be of the utmost importance, yet which has been ignored in the Nationalist argument. If the entrenched clauses have no longer any validity because the Statute of Westminster and succeeding Acts superseded the South Africa Act, from where does the South African Parliament derive its present authority? This is surely a most significant question when one considers that only the two and a half million Europeans out of the twelve and a half million inhabitants of the Union can consider themselves directly represented by this Parliament. So long as the South Africa Act was recognized, Parliament could confidently claim to have been constitutionally established, although the Non-Europeans could always counter-claim that they had never been consulted and that therefore they had the right to challenge Parliament's right to make laws for them. But if the South Africa Act is no longer valid, it is hard to see how the South African Parliament can escape the charge that it has taken unto itself an arbitrary authority by reason of the superior force of the European community.

To the Non-Europeans this will seem very much like merely playing with words. They have never considered that the South African Constitution took any cognizance of their rights or ambitions and they regard the present constitutional dispute as one which merely affects the interests of Europeans, but the issue does make a very real difference to the relative position of the two European communities. If the original Constitution, as embodied in the South Africa Act, does not now apply, then either European section may well be at the constant mercy of the will of the other. The immediate effect is of course to make the British section extremely nervous, for the entrenched clauses safeguard not only the Non-European vote but the equality of the two European languages also. If the one is not valid, there is no

reason to suppose that the other will operate either. The Nationalist leaders have been quick to reassure the English-speaking population on this score, but their words are not likely to carry much weight. After all, every possible form of promise was given to the Coloured voters that their rights would never be interfered with. Yet the issue extends even beyond the interests of British descendants in South Africa. It would not be impossible, for instance, as the Electoral Law stands, for the British section, with the help of only a few Afrikaners, to secure the majority in Parliament according to this new interpretation of the Constitutional position; they could then discriminate against the Afrikaners or their language. In short, the constitutional interpretation which has been made for the purpose of this particular Bill has left parliamentary democracy in South Africa without any anchor. The way has been opened to arbitrary and authoritative action which can well destroy the very basis of the democratic principle.

Of course, from the Nationalist point of view, the type of action which they have used in the instance of the Separate Representation of Voters Bill is logical and necessary. If they are to complete any distinct form of racial segregation, then it is obvious that parliamentary segregation is one of the keystones. Logically there must be a separate Parliament for each racial group whatever power each such body should have. It is true also that, although members of the United Party have been deeply concerned about the constitutional dangers represented in this Bill, they are also politically concerned about its effect on their own Party future. By the removal of the Coloured voters, the United Party will lose in two ways. They will lose those Coloured votes which have been cast for them which will probably deprive them of about six seats, and they will also lose by the delimitation of constituencies which will follow the removal of 50,000 mainly urban voters. The rural constituencies, which are traditionally largely Nationalist, will gain strength in this way.

It should be noted too that the United Party opposition to this Bill is not based on the principle of their defence of the Non-European vote. In 1936 the majority of them were quite willing

to co-operate in the removal of the African voters from the common role and thus enable Hertzog to obtain the required two-thirds majority. If the Coloured voters were not accustomed to vote for the United Party, there is little doubt that the Government would easily have secured its two-thirds majority.

Yet, at the same time, there is no question but that on the moral and constitutional position, considerable sections of the South African European community have been deeply stirred on this issue. They recognize that after the many public promises to the Coloured people of the past, the passing of this Act has finally destroyed any value placed by the Non-European community on the word of the South African white man. They recognize equally that the whole basis of their democratic security is undermined by the method employed to secure the passage of the Act.

In consequence, widespread protests have been made by devious means against the action of the Nationalist Government. Prominent church leaders have publicly denounced the immorality of the action and an immense petition was signed throughout the country and presented to the Government. Most spectacular of all have been the torchlight processions led by the ace fighter-pilot, 'Sailor' Malan and the old Boer commandant, De la Rey. The culmination was the gathering of protestors from surrounding districts in Cape Town towards the end of the 1951 Parliamentary Session. A huge protest meeting, probably the biggest ever seen in South Africa, marched to the Houses of Parliament. The fact that this was followed by another clash between police and demonstrators is only a further sign of the acute tension under which people of the country live during these bitter struggles.

It was only to be expected that this Separate Representation of Voters Bill should arouse the most passionate opposition from every section of conscious Non-European opinion. It has been widely recognized by Africans and Indians that the Bill represented an assault upon one of the last strongholds of Non-European political rights, and they have given considerable support to the Cape Coloureds.

The Coloured community itself has been divided upon the

tactics which it should employ to fight the measure. The right-wing moderates of the Coloured People's National Union, led by C. J. Golding, made desperate efforts to persuade the Government against taking this step. They opposed demonstrations until after they had met ministers and tried every form of persuasion. After the failure of their representations to the Government however, they joined forces with the Franchise Action Committee, although often dissenting from its policy.

This committee was formed largely by the people who had been members of the Communist Party before its dissolution. It was also supported by prominent members of the African National Congress, the Indian National Congress and one or two of the African Peoples' Organization. It organized constant demonstrations of protest, particularly during the debate on the Bill, which eventually culminated in a political strike on May 7th.

On the other hand, those organizations associated in the Non-European Unity Movement and the All-African Convention have continually decried this method of struggle and declared it to be hypocritical. They have maintained that the only effective method of opposition is to boycott the Act by refusing to co-operate in putting its proposals into effect, whilst at the same time building up the Non-European forces in preparation for a decisive struggle. They would therefore refuse to co-operate in working the Coloured Affairs Department and abstain from voting in the proposed elections for members to represent the Coloured people.

The effect of this division of the Coloured people is, of course, greatly to weaken the effect of the struggle against the Bill. Nevertheless, there is no doubt whatsoever that the passing of this Act and the methods used to secure its passage, mark yet another significant stage in the destruction of every form of link between European and Non-European, and probably has destroyed for ever any faith which the Non-European has had in the word and morality of the South African white man.

During the 1951 session a number of speeches have been made and actions taken by the Nationalist Government which still further clarify their attitude towards the future of the country.

The Republican issue has been raised on a number of occasions, and the Prime Minister has made several interesting statements on the question, but this will be discussed more fully in a later chapter. Here we are more concerned with legislative and administrative measures which are directly influencing the course of life in the Union.

Although the Separate Representation of Voters Act has received almost all the limelight during this session, a number of other less spectacular but highly significant measures have been taken to implement still further the policy of Apartheid. One Act controls the training of building workers and confines African builders to working on houses for African occupation. Another makes provision for the segregation of races amongst merchant seamen. But perhaps the most important indication of the mind of the Government has been seen in the policy outlines given during the session by the new Minister of Native Affairs, Dr Verwoerd. In his speeches he has reinforced his predecessor's rejection of the policy of 'total Apartheid' and reiterated his Party's determination to maintain European power over the whole of South Africa. He envisages a South African nation in which there will be urban and rural areas inhabited by Europeans with African workers, but with the majority of Africans confined to the Reserves. In such Reserves, he suggests, there will be no place for white settlement, such as is to be found today, for instance, in Umtata in the Transkei. Incidentally, this statement immediately called forth indignant protest from the white inhabitants of Umtata. In the Reserves, Dr Verwoerd proposes, some degree of self-government for Africans will be allowed, but always subject to the ultimate authority of the white rulers.

It is in pursuance of this policy that the Government has secured the passage of the Bantu Authorities Act. This Act will change the whole structure of Native Administration by abolishing the Native Representative Council and substituting a pyramid structure based upon tribal organization. It will set up three forms of authority with the tribe as the common denominator. The tribal chief and his council will constitute the first authority, a

regional council will control two or more tribal areas, and a territorial authority will be established over two or more regional areas. It is further proposed that the tribal and regional authorities will elect the Native Representatives to the Senate, by implication those in the House of Assembly being ultimately abolished.[⁵]

The emphasis on tribal organization in this important new measure is significant. Socially, economically and politically the maintenance of the tribe hinders African progress and is a facile instrument for a third party to maintain the subservience of the African people. At the same time the Government has now deliberately served notice on the African people that it has no intention of allowing any further progress towards equal political rights. By this new measure any Government will only have to maintain its control of the tribal chiefs to control the entire African administration. The politically conscious Africans have never had much faith in the Native Representative Council, but, on paper at least, it did represent an ultimate promise of greater political opportunity. That policy has now been definitely reversed. The result can only be the determined opposition of all educated and politically minded Africans. In this opposition, it will now be seen, Africans, Coloureds and Indians have common ground. At the end of three years' reign therefore, whilst the Nationalists can claim to have entrenched themselves in power, there can be no doubt that their policy has provided the circumstances for the development of what the white man has always feared most in South Africa—a united and strongly organized Non-European front.

MINISTERS, MEMBERS AND CIVIL SERVANTS

I WAS NATURALLY anxious to make personal contact with the political figures of the country, and to discover their attitudes towards these national issues in personal conversation. I found my task much easier than I could ever have expected, and the facilities which I obtained for discussing the problems involved with members of all political parties could not have been better. Having been accustomed to moving about the Westminster Parliament, to visiting its famous Lobby, and to meeting friends and acquaintances amongst Members in the dining-room and on the terrace, I knew something of the difficulty in Britain of contacting a Member of Parliament and the almost impossible task of arranging to meet a Minister. I was therefore agreeably surprised in the Cape Town House to discover how much easier it is to meet the South African Members and even to have long discussions with their Cabinet Ministers. Of course, governing a country of twelve million people at the southernmost tip of Africa does not present one with the same responsibilities as those which burden the Westminster Members. Yet it was obvious to me that Members of all parties were only too anxious to discuss their point of view and to take the trouble to enlighten me as to the problems of the country.

I was fortunate enough to meet Senator and Mrs Ballinger soon after arriving in Cape Town, and they, both being Scots, and knowing that I came from the University of Glasgow, went out of their way to introduce me to everyone whom I desired to meet. I got into the habit of dropping into their room, which is set apart for them as Native Representatives, almost every morning, and, before long, could walk into the Lobby of the House at any time of the day and meet Members, Private Secretaries and journalists at will. Having strong political inclinations, I found this a fascinating opportunity, and spent many hours in the long galleried hall which serves as the Parliamentary Lobby. One big

advantage here over the Westminster Lobby is that although smoking is prohibited, as at Westminster, nobody takes any notice of the prohibition, though the regulations at the other end of the House in the Senate are much more austere and dignified!

The South African House of Parliament is a red brick building, faced with light-coloured stone, situated in pleasant gardens, only two minutes' walk from the centre of the city. As one walks up Parliament Street, the chief Government offices are on the left, throwing a deep shadow over this narrow street, which is almost a cul-de-sac, and one side of which is entirely taken up by the parking of Members' cars. Indeed, one of the chief difficulties in getting to the House of Parliament is to find some place within a half-mile's radius where it is possible to leave a car for more than a few minutes.

The public entrance is at the side opposite the Government buildings, and, after mounting a short stone stairway, one enters a small square lobby where the first thing that strikes the eyes is the partition dividing the Non-European seats from those reserved for Europeans. I read in a 1949 copy of Hansard that the Speaker of the House had vigorously protested against an article, appearing in *Die Suidersterm*, which had suggested that Apartheid was not implemented within the building of the House of Assembly. He pointed out that:

Separate provision was made for receiving Coloured and Native voters and visitors to Native Representatives in a separate room in the House of Assembly. When it appeared that it would be impossible for such visitors to reach this room without passing through the Lobby of the House, further provision was made to prevent this, and a room adjoining the entrance of the House, and before the entrance to the Lobby is reached, was set aside for Coloured and Native visitors of Members of the House of Assembly; and a separate bay close to the public gallery was provided exclusively for Native and Coloured visitors to the House, which makes it impossible for these persons to mix with the Europeans, and special instructions were given that as soon as this space was taken up, no more Coloureds or Natives should be admitted and allowed to stand in the passages of the House or in the gallery, as Europeans are often allowed to do so, and this would result in Europeans and Non-Europeans mixing.

One bench, with a high partition for secrecy, is reserved for Non-Europeans, and the rest of the public seats for people waiting to interview Members are kept exclusively for Europeans.

Through a small corridor, beside which is the attendant's desk and the messengers' room, one passes into the pleasant Lobby, off which are the various entrances to the House itself, the offices of the Members of the Government and Opposition, the coffee-room at one end and, at the other, the staircase up to the gallery, from which one can enter the public galleries and Press gallery, and the rooms set apart for Press representatives. I spent much of my time in this large, airy and oblong-shaped Lobby, meeting Members and Secretaries and Journalists, and having continual discussions and interviews on the political problems of the country.

One of the Nationalist backbenchers was good enough to introduce me to the Private Secretary of the Secretary of the Department of Native Affairs, Dr W. M. M. Eiselen. It was important to begin investigations from Dr Eiselen for, as Chief of the Civil Service in this Department, he controls the administration of Native affairs much more closely than can any Minister. His appointment in October 1949 caused something of a sensation, and roused a great deal of opposition amongst those who consider that the Civil Service should always follow the practice of promotion by seniority. The appointment was definitely and unashamedly political in character, Dr Eiselen being appointed because he held certain views, not because of any experience in administration. It was largely because of those views that I was most interested to meet him, and to hear from his own lips his attitude towards Native policy, as Chief Administrator in the country.

Dr Eiselen is the son of a German Missionary, and he was brought up in a Mission Station near Middelburg in the Transvaal. From an early age he came to know the Native in personal contact and learned to understand and speak some of the Native languages. As a Senior Lecturer in Bantu studies at the University of Stellenbosch, he was largely responsible for building up his Department to the point at which it was bigger than any similar

department in any other South African University. From Stellenbosch he moved back to the Transvaal, becoming Chief Inspector of Native Education, and gained experience in addressing the Native Representative Council. From here he was appointed as Professor of Anthropology in the University of Pretoria. It was from this Chair that he became Secretary for Native Affairs.

Dr Eiselen was one of the group, centred in Stellenbosch University, who formed the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, and has probably done more than any other individual to formulate and expound the policy of total Apartheid described above. When I met him, he was in a particularly piquant situation, for, on the one hand, that policy which he had advocated publicly had recently been approved by the Dutch Reformed Church, whilst, on the other, it had been rejected by the Government from the lips of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Native Affairs himself. One was therefore entitled to wonder somewhat as to the personal position of Dr Eiselen as head of a Government Department, when it had now become clear that his own views did not coincide with those of his political chiefs.

As in every department, I received a very warm and friendly welcome at the Ministry of Native Affairs, which is just on the other side of the road from the House of Assembly. After a chat with his Secretary, Mr Koetze, who gave me some useful information on the best methods of visiting the Native Reserves, I was shown into Dr Eiselen's office, and spent nearly an hour discussing the situation and the Government's policy across his desk. For perhaps ten minutes or so, the Doctor maintained some reticence and hesitation, but then, having got into his stride in a subject which he obviously has very close to his heart, this grey-haired and thoughtful-faced Civil Service chief answered my questions so thoroughly and became so engrossed in our conversation that he had to be reminded on three occasions by his secretary that he had other business waiting for his attention.

From this talk, and from his writings, I have no hesitation at all in saying that Dr Eiselen is a completely sincere and honest man. His answers to every question I put to him never took the

nature of a departmental reply, but were always thoughtfully considered and made as a part of the discussion, rather than laid down dogmatically. He admitted, for instance, the validity of my point that to attain completely separate communities for Europeans and Non-Europeans would necessarily mean that the European community would lose its cheap supply of Non-European labour. The factory workers, mine workers, farm hands and domestic servants, who today are entirely drawn from the Non-European communities, could not continue in such occupations if complete separation were enforced. The Secretary said very frankly that the only way in which such separation could be implemented would be for Europeans to be prepared to do their own manual labour, which, in its turn, would require a much greater supply of overseas immigrants. Nevertheless, he believed that this was essential for the peaceful development of the country, and hoped to see the Native Reserves thoroughly developed so as to attract the intelligent and educated Natives to serve their own people, rather than continue in a position of inferiority to the Europeans. It was only, he suggested, if Europeans were prepared to lose their dependence on Non-European labour, and to invest capital for the development and expansion of the Reserves, that there could be any justification for the policy of total Apartheid, and he admitted that, in equity, there is simply no justification in the long run for the maintenance of white supremacy. His policy would be to develop the two societies parallel to each other, with neither claiming supremacy over the other, and, given this basis, he hoped to see this policy serving to link up the Union and the Rhodesias.

The practical differences hindering the implementation of such a policy are very clear to see, for the whole of South African life has been built on the use of Non-European labour, and there would undoubtedly be widespread hostility amongst Europeans to the idea of forfeiting the advantages which this has given them. Nevertheless, as an ideal it has much to commend it, and, amongst sincere men like Dr Eiselen, it sounds one of the more honest policies put forward in South Africa. One regrets that it should be used as an idealistic cloak for the negative Apartheid which is

the Government's policy in practice, and it is obvious, too, that, if any serious efforts were to be made to put it into operation, the first essential would be consultation with and approval from the Non-Europeans themselves.

As I left the Ministry, I took away again the impression of thoughtfulness and reasonableness in facing complicated and difficult problems, such as I had felt on leaving Stellenbosch, and I wondered what would be the future fate of Dr Eiselen and his ideals, a doubt which again assailed my mind when I learned that the new Minister of Native Affairs was to be Senator Verwoerd, one of the most extreme and violent of the Nationalists, whose ideals will surely be very far removed from those of his secretary.

On the other hand it should, in fairness, be pointed out that Senator Verwoerd has announced one point in his policy which squares with Dr Eiselen's ideas. In a speech at the beginning of 1951 he stated that just as 'black spots' would be removed from white areas, so 'white spots' in Native areas would have to go. This obviously referred to places like Umtata, in the middle of the Transkei Reserve and was immediately received by indignant protest from the Europeans in Umtata. Nothing more has been heard of the proposal since and, as the Europeans in the 'white spots' are voters, whilst the Africans in the 'black spots' are not, it is highly unlikely that the Government will ever implement it.

Back in the House, I met Professor A. I. Malan, Member for Gezina, Dr A. J. R. van Rhyn, Member for Bethlehem, and Mr du Plessis, all Nationalist backbenchers, yet again, their welcome was most friendly, and most of the discussions we had were argued reasonably, though strongly influenced by emotion and prejudice. Each of them went out of his way, not just to speak frankly and fully to me, but to help me to meet a representative selection of Members from all political parties.

Sitting over the coffee-cups in the dining-room, Professor Malan enunciated the policy, which I now knew pretty thoroughly, of total Apartheid, but was much less clear on how the policy could be put into practice with any hope of success. Dr van Rhyn, a big, burly, tough ex-journalist, fulminated on the inaccuracy and

prejudice of the overseas' Press, and went much further than any other Member whom I met in alleging that there are basic differences between Europeans and Non-Europeans, even maintaining that the most cultured amongst the latter can never leave their primitive background wholly behind. He gave me a long lecture on eugenics, and quoted the views of Professor Gregory on racial differences, becoming very definite on the terrible evils created by the mixture of bloods. Yet, somewhat in contradiction, he admitted that when he was studying at Heidelberg, he himself had felt no colour prejudice, and that this emotion had not returned until he got back to South Africa. He was not very sure of himself either when I asked him what evils had resulted from the mixture of blood between the early Dutch settlers and the Coloured slaves. Indeed, it was from Dr van Rhyn, in particular, that I was able to obtain the clearest view of the muddled thinking and contradictory views aroused by the irrational emotion of colour prejudice.

It was Dr van Rhyn who had, earlier in the year, moved a resolution in the House for the appointment of a Government Commission on the Press to investigate ownership and reporting of news, with particular reference to overseas connections. Since then the Government has appointed this Commission of Inquiry, and, in order to be quite certain that its Report serves the correct purpose, it announced before the Commission ever sat that it would discover misrepresentation and falsification of news amongst the English-speaking papers.

I met Mr du Plessis after the Minister of Justice had made his speech, outlining the deep-laid plots which, he alleged, the Communists had organized to disrupt the entire life of the country, and he elaborated for my benefit the dangers to which the country was exposed from Communist organization. In particular, he told me that Dr Albert Hertzog, son of the General, and Nationalist Member for Ermelo, had discovered that the Non-European boys who deliver milk throughout the Free State and the Transvaal had been organized by the Communists to poison all the milk supplies with arsenic on a given day, and also repeated the story, put out by the Minister, of the poisoning of

water supplies and destruction of power stations. He admitted to me that he also had realized that these methods might well kill as many Non-Europeans as Europeans, but seemed quite convinced of the truth of the stories.

One point was made by all the Nationalist Members I met, for which I have, however, some sympathy. They are all clearly deeply in love with their South African Nation, and feel that only when they have established their own language and achieved a republican constitution can they really be independent. They justly feel suspicious of many English-speaking people's loyalty to Britain rather than to the Union, and believe that single-minded loyalty to South Africa is vital to the building of their Nation. If such Nationalism were non-aggressive, and if it would extend itself to all inhabitants of the country, European and Non-European, it could be a unifying force in the solution of national problems.

I completed my education in the Nationalist philosophy and its political applications by going to see the head of the State Information Service, and two of the leading members of the Cabinet. It seemed to me of vital importance, in view of the fact that the Government's policy of Apartheid had now become the official policy of the Union, and there seemed every likelihood of the National Party remaining in power for many years to come, to make certain that I had fully and comprehensively covered every aspect of the policy as put forward by all sections of the Nationalist movement, before turning to discover the attitude of the Opposition and of the Non-Europeans, who would be principally affected by it. I felt confident that, after having talked with the Professors, the Head of the Department, backbenchers, Ministers, and the State Information Service, I could not reasonably be accused of not taking sufficient pains to discover the real meaning of the policy.

One day, in the Lobby of the House, a Member introduced me to two of the officials of the State Information Service. Yet again, I was immediately met with the offer of every possible facility for pursuing my investigations, and taken over the road to the

State Information Office. There I was introduced to the Head of the Department, Dr Otto du Plessis, who has had a somewhat chequered career. In 1940, as Enlightenment Secretary of the National Party, Dr du Plessis wrote a pamphlet in Afrikaans entitled: *Die Nuwe Suid-Afrika: Die Revolusie van die Twintigste Eeu* (*The New South Africa: The Revolution of the Twentieth Century*). This pamphlet was based upon the work of Oswald Spengler, who, in 1914, it will be remembered, forecast the decline of Western Europe, in particular of the British and French Empires. The Doctor believed in 1940 that this prediction was coming true, and that democracy in Europe would soon be superseded by a new order, created by the dictators. He followed up this analysis by expressing the hope of the Afrikaners that democracy would similarly die in South Africa, and be replaced by an Afrikaner New Order, organized in an Afrikaner Republic, free from any connection with Britain.

Later, Dr du Plessis became editor of the Nationalist newspaper, *Die Volksblad*, and, after the election of 1943, was to have been sent as South African Ambassador to Holland before it was discovered that he would not be acceptable to the Dutch. Thereupon he became Chief of the State Information Office, where he controls all forms of Government propaganda.

The Doctor greeted me very cordially, and I noted him as a quietly-dressed, slightly-built man, with watchful deep-set eyes, in appearance, rather a business man than a political intellectual. He reiterated the fundamental feelings of colour prejudice which were widely felt amongst the European population, and asserted that the present Government was trying to find a middle road between that of blatant self-preservation for the European and the Christian duty of assisting in the development of the primitive Natives. To my suggestion that these two conceptions might appear to be contradictory, he answered that the democracy of South Africa had created an ever-growing fear amongst the Europeans of being overwhelmed by the greater numbers of Non-Europeans, and yet they were still desperately attempting to hold on to the Christian traditions on which the country had

been built. His answer showed the perplexity and bewilderment of a large section of the European population, without convincing any rational observer that he saw a clear way out of the predicament.

Dr du Plessis did little more than confirm the impression I had gained from all the political sections of the Nationalists of an anxiety to convince themselves, as well as others, that their policy was in conformity with the principles of Christianity and justice, even though it might not appear so to their critics or to the outside world. Nevertheless, he and his staff were immensely helpful in providing me with a large number of booklets, pamphlets and tracts on the policy of the Government and on Non-European affairs in particular, and very generously sent me a large supply of material and a selection of very beautiful photographs back to Glasgow to await my return. I still get regular supplies of information from them, and in this way, they are showing that they are only too anxious to provide their selection of facts and information on which we can base a considered judgement.

The first Minister whom I met was Mr C. R. Swart, Minister of Justice, and, at that time, of Education, and commonly known, because of the translation of his name, as 'Blackie'. Mr Swart must be the tallest Member of Parliament in the Union, and he has had a most exciting career. In 1914 he was imprisoned as one of the participants in the rebellion of that year. After the war he went to America, became a film actor, newspaper reporter, was down and out for a long time, and learned something of what it feels like to be a 'poor white'. On his return to the Union, he became a lecturer in law in the Orange Free State University College, and then an Advocate, and is now a member of the Chief Executive of the National Party and its leader in the Free State.

Dwarfed beside his 6 ft. 4 in. and feeling somewhat like a schoolboy facing over his desk the Headmaster, with his stern, horn-rimmed-spectacled face, I tried to get the Minister to discuss with me a matter in which I have considerable interest and some practical knowledge, that of adult education. It had seemed to me that in a country like South Africa, where there is so much illiteracy and no prospect of full educational opportunities for all

the people for a long time to come, the democratic function of adult education could be of supreme significance. We talked for some time almost entirely at cross-purposes, for it soon became obvious to me that Mr Swart had no conception or knowledge of the meaning of adult education as we understand it in Europe, and eventually he escaped from my inquiries as a division bell began to ring. Before he left me, I asked him, as Minister of Justice, about his policy in supporting the organization of private farm jails, but he did not seem anxious to be drawn, nor very keen that I should be given the facilities to visit one myself. However, he passed me on to his Private Secretary, Mr Pretorius, who not only obviously knew much more about adult education than his chief, but also arranged for me to have a talk with the Secretary of the Department, Mr van der Walt. From the two of them, and from a visit which I made to the Department in Pretoria later, it became clear to me that, although adult education as a phrase is included within the Department of Education, and although some appointments have been made as Organizers, and one or two experimental residential schools have been attempted, adult education, as we know it, has simply no beginnings in the Union. The Department's attitude seems to be that it will subsidize certain local cultural societies, mainly for drama, but the idea of developing any serious class work, voluntary or statutory, is conspicuous by its absence. It seems to me that this is a very great lack in such a country as South Africa, and its absence has resulted in a paucity of opportunities for the development of cultural life, and, even more importantly, for the experience of discussing matters of national and international importance in the objective method of the adult class, where one has to learn to listen to ideas which one dislikes, and to meet them, not with emotion, but with reasoned argument.

The second Cabinet Minister whom I met was Dr T. E. Donges, Minister of the Interior and of Mines. It was a curious experience waiting with his Private Secretary, Mr Jordaan, in the outer office of the Ministry of the Interior, whilst a variety of people, obviously agents of the Ministry, came in and out, discussing photographs

of wanted men, and similar issues. When I entered the inner office and met Dr Donges, the atmosphere of the Intelligence Service and Secret Police immediately evaporated. The Minister gave the appearance of a cherubic and friendly companion, and for nearly an hour we smoked our pipes and discussed the issues of the day. For some time Dr Donges' eyes twinkled through his horn-rimmed spectacles, and he was both affable and jovial. He told me something of his many travels, and of his life as a student at the London School of Economics, but I realized that the Doctor was talking, yet saying nothing, and I knew that he had important things which he could say, for it was this same Dr Donges who had piloted the important Citizenship Act, the Population Registration Act, and the Group Areas Act, through the Houses of Parliament. Since then Dr Donges has also led the case for the Separate Representation Act. It was this Minister, above all others, who had taken a leading part in laying down the legislative basis of the policy of Apartheid. I knew too, that he was one of the leading candidates for the succession to Dr Malan, although it has since appeared that his rival, Mr Strydom, has the more influential support.

It was no surprise to me to learn that Dr Donges had a brilliant career as an advocate at the Cape Bar, and that it was he who had been chosen to state the case of the Union Government at the United Nations, and to represent Dr Malan at the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in January 1951. He very quickly impresses one as an able, clever, and very intelligent man, and I have no doubt that he would have been quite content to talk to me for an hour without ever saying a word about the policy of the Government, but I was not paying him a social call, and was anxious to find out something from behind the curtain which he had drawn against the true contents of his mind. We fenced with each other in a friendly fashion for some minutes, but, before I plunged into the heart of the matter by bringing up the issue of Bantustan or total Apartheid, I asked him the direct question—how it was that the Dutch Reformed Church, of which, incidentally, he is a prominent member, had publicly given its support to

the idea of the complete separation of states between European and Non-European, to be progressively achieved over a period of about a hundred years, whereas the Government had declared that this was not a practical policy. He countered my question by saying that perhaps in three hundred years South Africa would be a coffee-coloured nation with complete equality for all its inhabitants, but that over such a period, no one could forecast the future. He and his colleagues, he said, were concerned with the situation of the present generation, their children and grandchildren, and they saw the very grave dangers with which they were faced by the increasing numbers and demands of the Non-Europeans. It was to safeguard these generations from such dangers that the Government was following its present policy.

This was quite a different story from that idealistic conception of Apartheid formulated by the Stellenbosch professors and widely used as an interpretation of the Government's policy. I therefore probed further, and asked him about the significance in this context of the Group Areas Act which he had introduced. He advised me to inspect the Mine Compounds on the Rand, where the Native mine workers, recruited from the Reserves, signed on contract for a specific period, and housed in compounds run by the mining companies, were very closely supervised, all their needs being provided within the compound, and permits being required for visits to town. Dr Donges suggested that this was the type of organization for the urban Native labourer which the Group Areas Act envisaged. He believed that it was only by this method that Non-Europeans could be kept completely separate from and under the control of Europeans in the towns, and that, as it was necessary to use Non-European labour in urban life, yet equally necessary to segregate them from contact with the Europeans, this method of urban organization would become the pattern for the whole country.

He agreed that the Coloured people were on a different basis from the Natives, but insisted that they too must have completely separate areas in urban life where they might possibly develop a form of self-government, but a self-government which would

always be under the ultimate control of European municipal and provincial councils. Whether one agrees with him or not, there is no doubt that the Minister has a completely clear conception in his mind of the consequences of the policy which he is advocating and implementing, but it is equally clear that it has no relation to the idealistic policy of Apartheid, as enunciated in the academic world.

Before leaving him, I questioned him on two other important implications of his policy. First, I asked him whether he considered, in view of the legislation then being passed in Parliament, particularly the Suppression of Communism Act, that the European form of democracy could be preserved in his country. His answer was significant. He replied that it was impossible to keep to democratic rules when being attacked by the Communists.

The second question was equally significant. In view of the attitude of the Indian Government at the United Nations, and towards the round table conference which the United Nations had advocated as a method of solving the conflict between India and South Africa, I asked Dr Donges for his views about the influence which the development of Non-European Dominions within the Commonwealth had had upon the position in the Commonwealth of the Union itself. Without committing himself dogmatically, he gave me a definite impression that the fact that now three Non-European Dominions existed on a basis of equality within the Commonwealth, the desire for an independent Republic had been greatly increased in South Africa. He indicated that it was becoming increasingly difficult for South African representatives, with the colour prejudice of their country in the background, to confer and mix socially on equal terms with the representatives of India, Pakistan and Ceylon in international and Commonwealth conferences.

Within the political field, this was easily the most important discussion I had. Having penetrated the eloquence of the advocate, I found Dr Donges clear and straightforward in his mind and got the impression that here was a very strong personality with a great deal more intelligence than the majority of the Nationalists,

and a man who knows just where he is going, whatever the consequences may be.

Before leaving the Nationalist political scene, I should perhaps make some mention of the other key figure within the Government, Mr J. G. Strydom. On several occasions I tried to see Mr Strydom, but, due to no evasion on his part, the occasion never presented itself. However, here is perhaps one member of the Government that it is not necessary to interview, for Mr Strydom must be the most open and honest member of the Government, whenever he appears on the political platform. He also was an advocate, after having been an ostrich farmer, and, although he only has a minor position in the Government as Minister of Lands, as leader of the Transvaal Nationalists he has such a powerful position within the National Party that by many people he is regarded as the future Prime Minister.

Mr Strydom's speeches from the platform are as hard, uncompromising and forbidding as is his personal appearance. Here, surely, is the epitome of the iron man of the north, whose mind on every issue of principle is firmly made up, and to whom no argument or reason can appeal. A firm and uncompromising supporter of the republican ideal, he admits of no argument on the racial issue. One or two quotations from his speeches in the House will suffice to indicate the iron-handed policy which can be expected if Mr Strydom becomes Prime Minister.

On January 31st, 1949, for example, speaking on the Opposition's motion of 'No confidence', Mr Strydom said:

Here we have 2,500,000 Europeans as against approximately 9,000,000 non-Europeans, and the serious nature of the problem is so obvious that there is no need to argue that point. The question arises whether we can maintain our position. We on this side of the House say 'Yes, definitely, providing certain conditions are complied with'. I want to mention two of these conditions. The first is that there must be no miscegenation. We as a Government and as a Nation must prevent miscegenation as it has taken place in other countries where Europeans and non-Europeans live in the same areas. The second is that in any case we must not be dominated . . . if the European loses his colour sense he cannot remain a White man. The European popula-

tion in this country, which is in the minority, can only remain White if it retains its sense of colour . . . on the basis of equality you cannot retain your sense of colour if there is no Apartheid in everyday social life, in the political sphere, or whatever sphere it may be, and if there is no residential separation. In that case it is absolutely impossible for the European race to retain its colour sense . . . other members on that side who subscribe to this view say that we are a nation consisting of 12,000,000 people. Well, let them do so, if that is their nation. I can tell the Hon. Member that it is not our nation . . . South Africa can only remain a White country if we continue to see that the Europeans remain the dominant nation, and we can only remain the dominant nation if we have the power to govern the country, and if the Europeans by means of their vote, remain the dominant section.

In a more recent speech to the annual congress of the National Party of the Transvaal in Johannesburg on September 17th, 1951, Mr Strydom proclaimed his views on Apartheid for the rest of Southern Africa. He said:

The English in the Rhodesias, the Portuguese in Portuguese East Africa, and the Belgians in the Belgian Congo will have no option but to adopt our Apartheid policy if they want to maintain themselves; and it is our task to convince other Europeans in Africa of this. Unless they realize this, they will have to go, just like the English in India and the Hollanders in Indonesia. If, like us, they have no other fatherland and they do not want to go, they will have to adopt our attitude of keeping the government in the hands of the White man.

Here perhaps, in this last sentence, Mr Strydom reveals that sense of insecurity and fear that dominates the whole of Nationalist politics and differentiate the Afrikaner from the British South African. The Afrikaner has no home but South Africa. If he fears the Non-European it is not only because of colour prejudice, but because he fears that Non-European control of South Africa would mean the expulsion of the white population. The British can always think ultimately of Britain as 'home', but that is not the case with the Afrikaner. This is one reason why the Afrikaner does not trust the English-speaking section and doubts his basic loyalty to the Union. It is also one reason for the fanaticism of some Afrikaners who feel that they are fighting for the very existence of their people. -Even those who are intelligent enough

and honest enough to realize that the Non-European community, which also has no other home, cannot for ever be denied the political rights which every civilized man demands, still go on fighting to maintain white supremacy. The only alternative they see is the complete disintegration and destruction of their people, and, though many must realize that they are making this inevitable by alienating the whole Non-European community, they would rather be destroyed fighting than face that form of destruction which they visualize in having to accept non-white equality and eventually the control of the country by Non-Europeans.

In this same speech Mr Strydom made another revealing statement. He was replying to the allegation of Mr Strauss that the National Party did not guarantee equal political rights for English and Afrikaner in its programme of principles. He pointed out that the Afrikaner had had to fight for equal cultural and language rights, but never for equality in political rights. He denounced the United Party and its Press for suggesting that the Nationalists would ever destroy this equality and said, 'We need not wait until we have a republic to deprive the English-speaking citizens of their language and political rights. If we wanted to, we could take them away now. Then we could get our republic all the more easily.'

However this statement is taken, and in its context it did not appear as a threat, it is a plain statement of fact. Once Parliament is established as supreme, the party in power, even if it has only a minority of support, can literally do anything with the lives of the people. Such is the present position in South Africa, which is now drifting about rudderless, without a constitution and completely at the mercy of the character, personalities and whims of the members of the Nationalist Government. Even the National Party has no control over the members of the Government provided they can maintain their parliamentary majority.

At the moment (1951), it appears that Mr Strydom's extremism is only held back by the control of Dr Malan and the necessity to retain the support of Mr Havenga. On the republican issue the Prime Minister has been comparatively moderate, insisting that a

republic must only come with the approval of the people, expressed in a referendum. He does not believe that the time when this approval could be secured has yet arrived, so he is content to wait and continue republican propaganda.

This does not suit Mr Strydom. He insists on a republic at all costs, believing, with his characteristic fanatical unreason, that South Africa can never be independent and free until she has cut all ties with Britain. He might well ask himself how much greater freedom Eire or India have found in republicanism, but such reasoning would not appeal to him.

On all these questions, Mr Strydom's mind is closed to argument or question. It was not surprising to find him quite openly declaiming that the menace of Communism has arisen from the cupidity of General Smuts in alliance with the British and French, who together removed the only bulwark against the Soviet Union, Nazi Germany. Perhaps that statement is significant in its implications of the manner in which Mr Strydom intends to prevent the spread of Communism on the African continent.

It is generally thought that Mr Strydom will be Dr Malan's successor as leader of the National Party. His only serious rival is Dr Donges, and it seems probable now that it is the Transvaal leader who has the most powerful support behind him in the Party. Dr Donges is perhaps too clever to be a successful Nationalist leader, and it is more probable that the thin-lipped, hard-faced and fanatical northerner will be the choice of the majority of the rural Afrikaners. During the Congress period of 1950 this belief was strengthened by the public avowal of Mr Louw, Minister of Economic Affairs, and Mr Swart, Minister of Justice, both influential men in the Government, who declared that they would be honoured to serve under Mr Strydom's leadership. But however the decision may go, there is no likelihood of it causing any split within the National Party, all the Members of which are quite sure of the way in which they are leading their country. During the latter months of 1950, it was expected that Mr Strydom would secure promotion in the Cabinet, but that expectation was not fulfilled. It may be that Dr Malan is somewhat

frightened of the effect on the nation which Mr Strydom's promotion might produce, and it now seems probable that a compromise will be arranged whereby, when Dr Malan retires, Mr Havenga will become Prime Minister for about two years, then to be followed by Mr Strydom. However that may be, there can be no doubt that the Transvaal leader has a very powerful influence in the affairs of the National Party and of the Government.

In view of the discussion and theories recorded above, we should perhaps end this discussion of Apartheid by defining the Government's actual attitude to the problem for the immediate future. As I have already pointed out, the Prime Minister and the Minister of Native Affairs took the trouble to make specific statements in April 1950 as to the Government's attitude to the theoretical proposition of total Apartheid. This policy had just been approved by the powerful Dutch Reformed Church, from which the Government draws its entire spiritual support, and it therefore became essential for the Nationalists to tell the nation what their attitude to this issue was in practical politics.

The mind of the Government was most clearly expressed by Dr Jansen, then Minister of Native Affairs, who told the House of Assembly on April 20th, 1950, that:

If it does happen in the future that the Europeans can do without the services of the Natives, and other reasonable provision is made for Natives, the ideal of total Apartheid, which is preached in some circles, may become practical politics. Until such time, we shall have to confine ourselves to what is practicable. . . . The fear which is sometimes displayed that our policy of Apartheid means that all Natives will have to be removed from the farms, and that no Natives will be allowed to live or work on farms, is also unfounded. I think it must be clear from what I have already said. At any rate, the conditions on farms are totally different from those in the cities. Natives who live or work in farms are employed by the farms. On the farms there is no question of equality. The relationship of master and servant is maintained on the farms, and there is no danger that conditions on the farms will develop in the same way as in the cities, where they are working with the Europeans on an equal footing—which gives rise to all kinds of undesirable conditions.

The presence of Natives in European areas, and also the fact that

their presence there as labourers is essential, at any rate for the present, has been recognized.

It is admitted that Natives should remain in urban areas, but it is explicitly stated that they should have no political or equal social or other rights with Europeans.

The statements quoted above are reinforced by the authority of the Prime Minister, and show quite clearly that, although the Nationalists still maintain the ideology of total Apartheid in their political propaganda, they do not accept it as a practical governmental policy. Their main immediate concern is to prevent intermingling of the races in town life, and to insist absolutely that political, social and economic supremacy in the towns and on the European farms is completely maintained.

It can be expected that this policy will be enthusiastically upheld by the new Minister of Native Affairs, Senator Verwoerd. Dr Verwoerd once described himself publicly as 'an extreme Afrikaner' and his career justifies his claim. As Editor of *Die Transvaler*, the Nationalist daily newspaper on the Rand, he was concerned in the famous defamation case of 1941 when the Judge described his editorship in the following words: 'He did support Nazi propaganda, and he did make his newspaper a tool of the Nazis in South Africa, and he knew it.' When Dr Jansen was selected to become the new Governor-General, it was Dr Verwoerd whom the Prime Minister chose to succeed him as Minister of Native Affairs. He probably owes his promotion to the fact that he is the leading supporter of Mr Strydom, following his chief enthusiastically in the doctrine of republicanism and absolute white supremacy. It may well be expected that his administration of that cynical and negative form of Apartheid enunciated by his predecessor will be thorough and rigid.

THE PARTY OF GENERAL SMUTS

IT WAS ON June 15th, 1950 that the announcement was made that General Smuts was so ill that it had been necessary for the parliamentary caucus of his United Party to elect a successor to him as Leader of the Opposition in Parliament. They chose Mr J. G. N. Strauss, K.C., to succeed the famous General, and the same afternoon I went with Mr Strauss to the room set apart for the use of the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly.

I was interested in the room itself, because I had heard on several occasions that during the war the telephone in this very room had been tapped in order to check the conversations of the man who was then Leader of the Opposition, Dr Malan. I was even more interested to meet Mr Strauss who had, a few hours earlier, assumed the mantle of the one man who, above all others, had made the name of South Africa famous throughout the councils of the world. I instinctively felt sympathy for the man who had assumed such tremendous responsibilities, and this was deepened by Mr Strauss' very boyish appearance. He was at that time only 49 years old and his slight build and boyish face gave him a much younger appearance. It was well known that he was the nominee of General Smuts, having been the General's private secretary as long ago as 1923, his Minister of Agriculture when 44 years old and having acted as Opposition Leader in the parliamentary sessions of both 1949 and 1950. In addition to his political career, Mr Strauss had been distinguished in legal circles, practising in Johannesburg, specializing in industrial legislation and eventually becoming a King's Counsel. He had entered the political world in 1932 at a very important time in the history of the Union. His success at the bye-election in Germiston was one of those incidents which have a political significance far beyond their own immediate importance, and it was to lead to the fusion

of the South African and National Parties in order to avoid the dangerous economic threat to the Union.

Mr Strauss is a very pleasant and charming companion and talked to me quietly and patiently about the attitude of his Party to the problems which beset his country. The night previous to our chat had seen a most ugly incident outside the Houses of Parliament, when a peaceful crowd, demonstrating against the proposed Suppression of Communism Bill, had been violently attacked by squads of police using their batons indiscriminately. I had not only been an eye witness of this scene, but very nearly a participant myself, for the police had swept past within a foot of me as I stood at the public entrance to the House. I discussed the affair with Mr Strauss and pointed out to him what a bad impression such incidents had upon the overseas visitor anxious to gain an objective idea of the manner in which the problems of South Africa were being tackled by the authorities. He obviously realized the impression which such affairs make and how they lower the reputation of the Union in the eyes of the world.

I next discussed with him the relations between his Party, as the official Opposition, and the Nationalist Government. This seemed to me to be of considerable importance at the time for, during the previous weeks, the new definition given by the Prime Minister and the Minister of Native Affairs of the Government's Native policy had seemed to be largely accepted by the United Party. Some of its members went so far as to claim that, apart from the issue of the Cape Coloured vote, it represented the policy of their own Party. Mr Strauss admitted to me that the difference between his Party and the Nationalists on Non-European policy was largely a matter of emphasis, but, he said, the United Party wanted to secure a progressive development amongst the Non-European communities. I pointed out to him that the logical result of such a policy based, as he had admitted, upon a steady series of concessions, could only be eventual equality of rights and I asked him whether either he or his Party was prepared to face this eventual consequence. His answer was, I think, significant of the political temper in which this issue is considered by members

of all parties. He said that any party which was to state publicly in South Africa that equality of rights formed their ultimate aim, would never have any chance of political power. It is obvious from this position that no matter what might be the moral or ethical conviction of any individual politician, if he believes that the object of politics is to gain power to rule, it is out of the question for him to suggest in public that it is either right or expedient for Non-Europeans to attain the slightest advance towards equality.

Mr Strauss' election was at first declared to be unanimous. Later it became obvious that this was not so. The United Party, indeed, is most inaptly named, for 'united' is the last adjective which one would use to describe it. Mr Strauss is supported by that section of the Party which has always followed General Smuts wherever he might lead them, and it was almost entirely Smuts' prestige and his vote-catching value which held this Party together.

The General was widely known for his activities on the world stage and his philosophic international speeches do not need to be quoted here. But the Smuts on the international stage and the Smuts in South Africa were two entirely different people. Whilst the General could make flowery, inspiring pleas for international freedom and liberty, he was, in his own country, consistently denying the application of those principles to the unprivileged. In this he did not accept only the traditional colour prejudice of his Boer forefathers. On a number of occasions, particularly in the 1922 strike of the Rand white miners, he showed his mind by using troops, planes and armoured cars to smash the strike, incidentally killing 230 of the strikers. It was on the same principle that 70,000 black miners were driven to work and, when they resisted, 68 of them in Port Elizabeth were shot. When a misguided religious sect gathered together at Bullhoek, 300 of them were brought down by rifle and machine gun fire and when a Hottentot tribe refused to pay taxes in South-West Africa, they were crushed by aerial bombardment. Towards white and black workers alike, Smuts was the typical Boer autocrat, displaying a violent anti-labour prejudice.

One might have thought too, that the Smuts who fulminated

so widely against the tyranny of the dictators in the second World War, and who was so warm a supporter of the principles of the United Nations, would have considered that he had himself a first-rate opportunity in his own country to implement his belief in the freedom and liberty of all peoples. But Smuts was an active supporter of his chief, General Hertzog, in the removal of the Natives from the common electoral roll in 1936, and it was on his own initiative that he introduced the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946. Here Smuts showed his characteristic tendency to ensure the preservation of colour discrimination in his own country, whilst keeping half an eye on public opinion overseas. So it was that whilst he was making strict and rigid restrictions on the occupation of land and property by Indians on the one hand, he was offering them, on the other, a minor opportunity of communal parliamentary representation. It was not surprising that the Indians immediately saw through the manoeuvre and completely rejected both policies involved in the Act.

It was this Act that, for perhaps the first time, brought Smuts up against the force of world opinion and the man who had been given primary responsibility for the framing of the United Nations' Charter must have been sorely wounded at the rough treatment which members of this organization meted out to him over this measure of discrimination. When he returned from the meeting at Lake Success in 1946, he may well have reflected upon the ironic circumstances which had led at one and the same time to his castigation before the United Nations and to his unprecedented popularity amongst white South Africans. The fact that the General had been placed in the position of defending before the United Nations his policy of discrimination towards the Indians, and his opposition to the attempt to impose international authority over South-West Africa, brought him a greater volume of unified support from South African Europeans than at any other time during his life.

Yet, by now, the patience and faith of the Non-Europeans was wearing very thin and they were no longer to be appeased by

vague promises or persuasive speeches. When defending the colour policy of South Africa, General Smuts had frequently referred to the institution known as the Native Representative Council, which he claimed was an example of the manner in which the South African European was educating the Native in the ways of democracy. But in 1946 this pretence was destroyed when the Council itself decided to adjourn *sine die* as a protest against the discriminatory legislation which formed the basis of Smuts' Native policy. Now completely disillusioned with the promises of the Europeans, the members of the Council came to the conviction that their institution was merely window dressing and that the Government had no intention whatever of even treating them as an influential consultative body.

Smuts had no answer to this accusation, for his bluff had been called and the high-sounding phrases which had spread themselves across the leading pages of the newspapers of the world were no longer any substitute for concrete action in the problem which lay at the heart of his own nation. For all Non-Europeans with any political consciousness, the General's spell was broken and his electoral defeat in 1948 brought no heart-burnings from any section of the Non-European peoples.

In spite of his failure to rise to the challenge of the greatest South African problem, General Smuts probably had a greater effect upon the life of his country during the twentieth century than any other individual. In some ways, the General came to symbolize the very antithesis of the whole tradition of his people. He was an international statesman, whilst the Boers were essentially isolationists. He was a philosopher and scientist, whilst his people were dogmatic and superstitious. He was the exponent, in the international world at least, of western liberalism, in contradiction to the Afrikaner tradition of Puritanical authoritarianism.

It was largely this antithetical spirit which made him the object of hatred and fear for the more narrow-minded section of the Afrikaner nation. The General, above all, symbolized that self-confidence of personality which is based upon the enlightenment of the European cultural tradition. The majority of his people

have been entirely isolated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from European thought, and, with the dogmatic myopia of Dutch Lutheranism and French Calvinism, bitterly resisted the ideas of the French Revolution or of the Age of Reason. They have shown that typical self-assertiveness which comes from the inferiority complex and stubbornly held anachronistic beliefs, and they fanatically resented the fact that one of their number had become an international champion of the new ideas which they abhorred. They considered him as a traitor in the struggle of the Afrikaner against the British and to their spiritual inheritance of Old Testament Puritanism against the advancing creed of liberalism. Not great enough to rise above the tradition of colour prejudice of his people, the General always terrified and horrified the militant Afrikaner by the potential racial liberalism which was latent, but never active, in his philosophy.

An interesting and important historical account still remains to be written of the relations between General Smuts and his first lieutenant, J. H. Hofmeyr. In some ways Jan Hofmeyr was a much greater man than Smuts, and he was certainly the only individual in the South African political field who could match the General's intellectual ability. Hofmeyr was deeply imbued with the Christian aspect of liberalism and was the one figure in modern South African politics great enough to rise above the petty tyranny of electoral expediency, and to respect publicly the liberal aim of equality without discrimination. Many times Hofmeyr was on the point of resigning from the Cabinet and the United Party over issues of discriminatory legislation, but he always changed his mind because of his belief that once he went into the wilderness, the cause of liberalism would have no spokesman. His dilemma was perhaps most obvious when Smuts introduced the Indian Land Tenure and Representation Act of 1946. Hofmeyr bitterly opposed the first half of this Act, which restricted the right of Indians to hold land, yet he felt that it might well be that the opportunity for securing some form of Indian representation, which was contained in the second half, would never again recur if he rejected the whole measure.

The Nationalists bitterly and fiercely vilified Hofmeyr's every idea and still accuse the United Party of representing his liberal ideas. Some conception of the kind of passion which he had to face may be gained from such a speech as that by a Nationalist member during the 1946 session, who declared in the House of Assembly that, 'If Mr Hofmeyr ever succeeds in bringing Indians and Coloured persons into the House as Members of Parliament, I should be given a machine gun, and they will be brought down as fast as they come in'. The death of Mr Hofmeyr in 1948 and of General Smuts in 1950 removed from the United Party its only two outstanding figures of the last decade, and it should not be forgotten that politics in South Africa has in the past been much more an issue of personalities than of parties or policies. Mr Strauss, therefore, has a most unenviable task, and it is difficult to see how he can hope to hold together the contending factions of his Party.

There are three main groups within the United Party, although these may well overlap and change their character in the difficult months ahead. The first is that led by Mr Strauss, which is composed of a miscellaneous collection of members who were devotedly loyal to General Smuts. The second is composed of the followers of Dr Colin Steyn, son of the famous President Steyn of the Free State. The third is a group of the younger members of the Party, most of whom are directly or indirectly concerned with industry, finance or commerce.

I had a long talk with Colin Steyn in the coffee room of the House of Assembly and it was one of the frankest and most intelligent conversations I had whilst in the Union. Dr Steyn has very much of the appearance of Punch, being short and tubby, with a similarly hooked nose and he appears to have something of the humour of that symbolically jovial figure. He admitted frankly to me that one of the biggest difficulties within South African society at the moment is the lack of opportunity for contact between educated Non-European and Europeans. He went much further in admitting that eventually it was probably impossible to maintain the supremacy of the white race and that it

might even be that 'racial purity' would also disappear. He believed that before long, somebody with tremendous courage would have to state these admissions openly to the nation and make them face the obvious facts which they would find so unpleasant. He believed that the Nationalists were greatly aggravating racial hostility and that the best that the United Party could do was to adopt a policy of concessions, thereby postponing the evil day, but added that our world is moving so fast that before long international events will inevitably overtake African policy.

Dr Steyn was Minister of Justice under Smuts and commands an important following within his Party. It is curiously ironic that this man, who spoke so frankly and with such a degree of intelligent liberalism in his discussion with me, should be the leader of the main conservative section of the United Party. Perhaps it is his name and his connection with that famous Afrikaner President that bring to him the support of the majority of those Boer farmers who are members of the United Party. There is not much doubt that Dr Steyn had hoped to succeed General Smuts as leader of the United Party, but if he had succeeded in this ambition, one is left wondering how far his liberal personal opinions would have been seen in public and what effect they would have had upon the future of his Party.

The third group has no single outstanding leader, but includes amongst its members such ambitious young men as Harry Oppenheimer, Marais Steyn, de Villiers Graaf. They voice the concern which is widely felt in the industrial and commercial world for the restricting consequences which may follow the increasing rigidity of segregation and discrimination. South Africa has been undergoing throughout this century a slow industrial revolution, which has been considerably speeded up over the last fifteen years, and many of the progressive industrialists believe that the national economy can only be soundly founded on an expansion of secondary industries, to reduce the preponderant weight which gold and diamond mining now have in the economic structure of the nation. In particular, they are anxious to increase

industrial exports and see great opportunities within this young land for widespread industrial expansion.

They realize that the most important essentials for such a policy are a constant supply of satisfactory labour and, no less important, an increase in the efficiency and productivity of that labour. Having noted the experience of other industrial states, they realize that increasing efficiency and productivity cannot be achieved so long as there is a complete barrier to opportunities for industrial advancement amongst their Non-European labourers. So long as the Non-European is rigidly confined to unskilled work, the basic incentive of promotion is absent and progress is thereby stultified.

They know too, that the ten million Non-Europeans provide a potential healthy home market, on which any sound industrial development must ultimately depend, whilst they increasingly realize that racial hostility is likely to be bad for home trade and will aggravate industrial discontent.

For these economic reasons therefore, this section of the United Party is anxious to prevent that increasing racial conflict which is to be seen as a result of the present policy of the Nationalist Government. Whilst it would not go so far as to accept the liberal conception of racial equality, it would attempt to allow greater flexibility of colour attitudes and to break down the excessive rigidity of racial discrimination.

At the moment, this group is not very powerful politically and, of course, is in fundamental opposition to the more rural conceptions of the bulk of the Afrikaner farmers, yet it may well be that it will play a most important part in the future of South African politics, either within the United Party or in some new party of its own.

In these circumstances, how is it possible to consider the United Party as a strongly organized opposition and a potential alternative to the present Government? Frankly, from my observations, I saw no sign that the United Party in its present form has any hope of becoming a major political force in the near future. It would seem to have no basis of common consistent policy towards

the major problems which face the nation, and, although it is true that its constitution allows members to speak as they wish on the republican issue and the Native issue, on the latter question in particular, which is at the heart of all South African politics, members of the United Party speak with so many contradictory voices, that one can hardly imagine them being brought together on any common ground. It is significant that a member of the party, Mr Hugh Parker, was recently expelled for suggesting that all South Africans, irrespective of racial origins, had a claim to equal rights.

This fact of disunity was strikingly illustrated on two occasions during my stay in the Union. The first was immediately after the election of Mr Strauss as Leader of the Opposition in succession to General Smuts. The very afternoon after his election had taken place, the lobbies were thrown into an uproar by the announcement that the son of General Smuts had repudiated the suggestion that his father contemplated retiring. Immediately, within the Lobby, groups and cliques could be seen anxiously conspiring in the hope that some new political advantage could be gained within their Party, and the declaration that the election of Mr Strauss was unanimous became an obvious piece of political window-dressing.

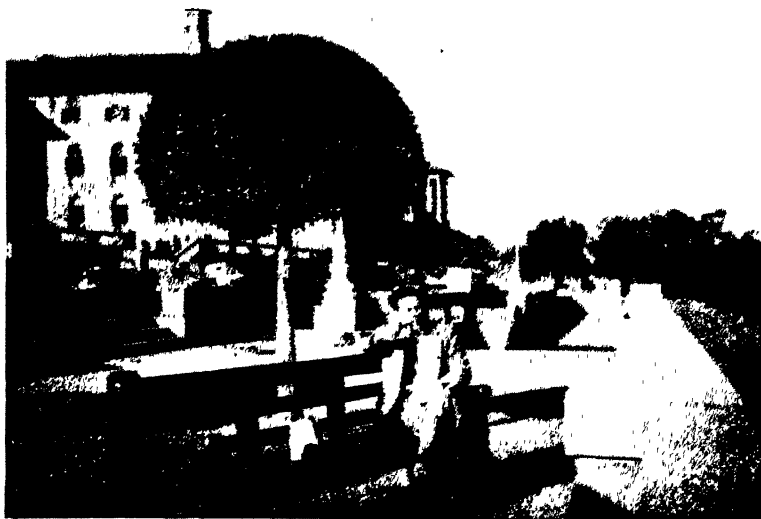
The second occasion came after the end of the parliamentary session when, in the public speeches which followed, two prominent members of the United Party, Mr Barlow and Mr Davis, were said to have put forward the proposal that Mr Havenga, the leader of the Afrikaner Party, should be invited to accept the United Party leadership. Suggesting that a leader of another and opposing political party should be invited in this way to change horses may seem ludicrous within the British political scene, but in South Africa it has not quite the same cataclysmic impact. With some similarity to French parliamentary life, groups and splinters form within the political world and the history of politics within the Union since 1910 has largely been characterized by fusions and pacts and the formation of new political parties. Yet the fact cannot be escaped that on this occasion the weakness and division

within the United Party was thrown into the glare of open publicity, when two Members of Parliament were seen to have so little confidence in their own leader that they could issue such a public invitation to a prominent member of the Government to join the United Party. It could not be more clearly stated that at least some members of the United Party are prepared to adopt any political intrigue in order to get back into office.

These divisions and contradictions of policy are further illustrated by the vagueness of the statement of policy issued by the Party. Both Afrikaner and English-speaking South Africans are represented within the organization, although English-speaking South Africans have taken very little active part in the politics of the Union, being much more concerned in the business world. Yet the inclusion of the elements of the two peoples has made for a form of compromise in party policy and seems to have prevented the formation of a clear decisive programme.

For instance, the Party claims to represent the freedom and dignity of the individual and, on this basis, made at least a show of opposition to the principles underlying the Suppression of Communism Act. Yet when its opposition had so far succeeded that the Government remitted its initial Bill to a Select Committee, the United Party completely threw away any claim to political tolerance by proposing in this Committee that the penalty for acting as a Communist should not be the five years' imprisonment suggested by the Bill, but a charge of treason, punishable by death. Thus, the National Party could even represent itself as being comparatively moderate in extending its initial suggestion of five years' imprisonment to one of ten years though it had, of course, placed Communists under the power of the Minister, instead of under that of the courts.

Then again, when Mr Strauss had been elected as leader of the United Party at the Annual Congress of the Party held at Bloemfontein at the end of 1950, he presented a new outline of his Party's policy under the heading of 'Four Securities': 'The security of a free South African state in a world where the liberty of every small nation is endangered; the security of white leader-



The author outside Union Buildings, Pretoria

*Photographs marked with a star [★] are published by
courtesy of the South African Government*



Women in Pondoland



Women in Natal





Union Buildings, Pretoria



View of Moroka, a native settlement

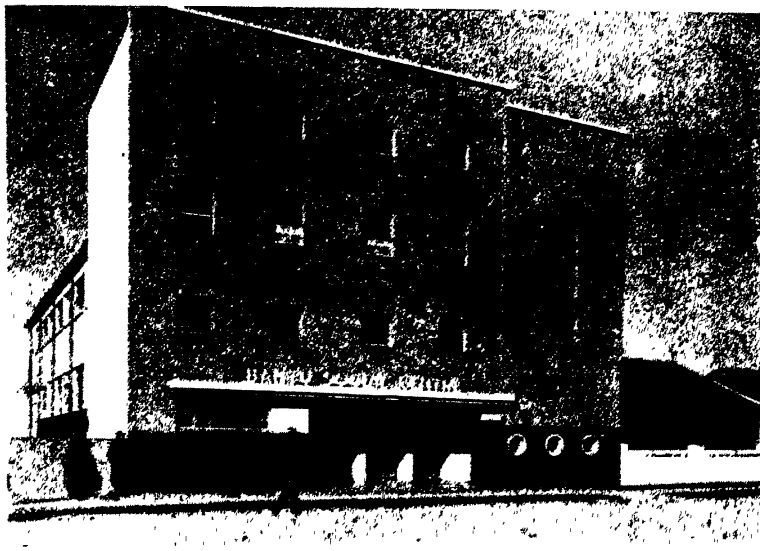


Venda children dancing



Old men drinking tea





Bantu Social Centre, Durban



Venda girls dancing





At home in the Mahashini District

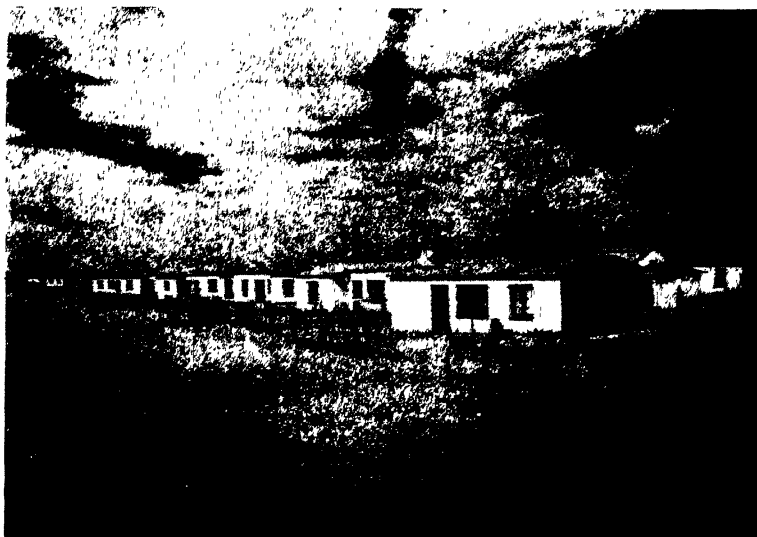


At home at Zwelitsha





The old way at Pietersburg



The new way at Kimberley





Children at home in Kimberley



Children at school in Johannesburg





Johannesburg suburb



Tato Manor, Durban



Downtown Durban



Water-supply and drainage system at Moroka



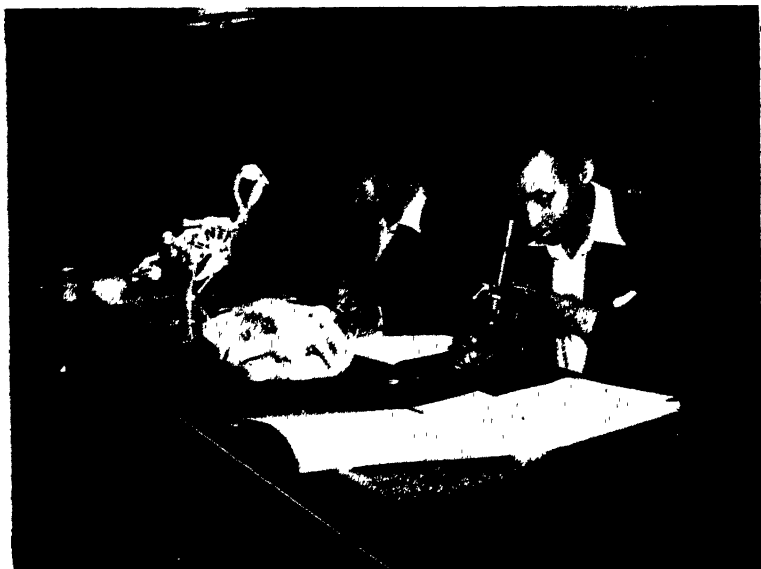
Cookery class at Lovedale Institution



Cooking in Kensington



Waiting for a Pass, Johannesburg



Native College, Fort Hare





Church in Windermere



Old Church at Tulbagh





Valley of a Thousand Hills, Natal

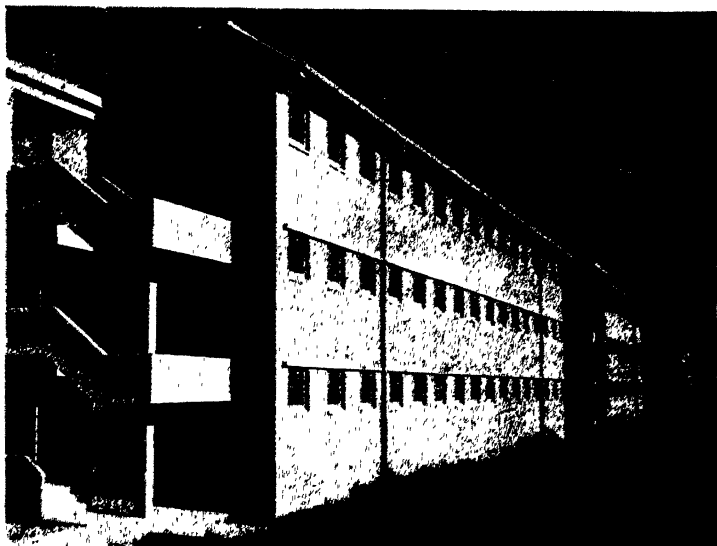


Native Agricultural School, Pretoria





Settlement at Windermere

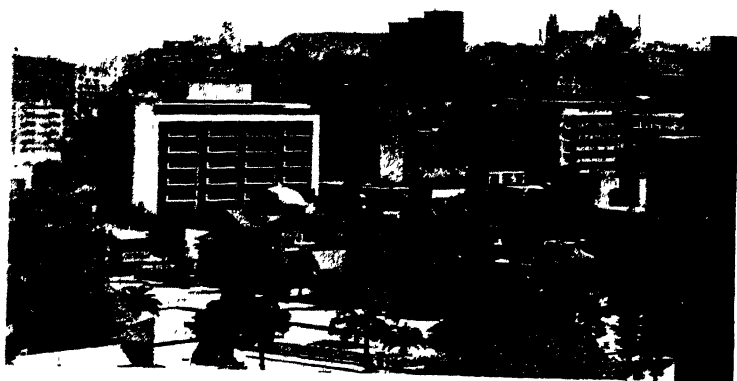


Hostel for male workers at Merebank, Durban





Native Reserves in West Pondoland



Johannesburg



ship in Southern Africa; the security of the common man's standard of living and the security of human freedom. But when he tried to define the implementation of such principles he had to show again the divided councils of his Party. Trying to appeal to the rural Afrikaner, he assured the farmers of the support of his Party and yet, depending upon so many urban votes, pledged himself to reduce prices to the consumer. Such contradictions can only delude the unintelligent or apathetic.

Similarly, in analysing the meaning of white leadership, Mr Strauss and the United Party stress the idea of 'leadership' rather than of 'supremacy', yet they never dare define to what they are leading the Non-Europeans. They say in their Party policy statement that:

The party will bring about and maintain residential and social separation between the races of different colour, but accepts the fact that the non-European is essential to the economic progress of South Africa and is entitled to his just reward. The United Party will continue positive measures for the welfare of the non-Europeans by betterment of his health, education and living standards, by improvement of his Reserves and areas of urban residence, and by encouragement of his progressive management of his own affairs.

European civilization in Southern Africa can only be perpetuated by white leadership based upon principles of justice; by fully developing the sense of responsibility which arises from the intellectual and moral heritage of the European; and by materially strengthening the European population through selective immigration.

These phrases sound very well as words, but they entirely beg the central question. Some such improvements have already been achieved in the life of South Africa, but what the United Party has not yet faced is the purpose of such achievements. Does the United Party, for instance, consider the Non-European, and particularly the African, to be integrally and inherently different from and inferior to the European and therefore to be permanently allotted the position of the European's servant? When educated and living in better social surroundings, is the Non-European to be recognized as a full citizen, with equal rights to the enjoyment and responsibilities of citizenship? If so, how is it that those

Non-Europeans who have already attained to this position, have not been accepted as full citizens and indeed, even under the United Party, were losing rather than gaining the rights of citizenship? [6]

Mr Strauss had nothing to say on these fundamental questions at Bloemfontein. He did not even mention the political rights of Africans and his only remedy for the Indian problem was the old policy of repatriation, which has been decisively and finally rejected by the Indians and by international opinion.

This same form of indecision and vagueness has characterized the United Party throughout the 1951 session. It is true that the Party fought the Separate Representation of Voters Act from start to finish and tried their best to prevent the Nationalists from infringing the entrenched clauses. Yet they were always limited in their efforts by the fact that they too approved of political discrimination against the Non-Europeans. This undoubtedly prevented them from making their opposition clear and unambiguous and always laid them open to the suggestion that their real opposition sprang not from principles, but from the fear of losing the votes of the Coloured people.

The same weakness was evident in the attempt of the Party to concentrate on the constitutional issue involved in the same Act. No doubt many members of the Party, particularly the lawyers, saw the great dangers to which the country would be subject if parliamentary supremacy were established on a simple majority, but this danger was also represented on grounds of self-interest. What frightened the United Party most on the constitutional issue was not the destruction of all safeguards for Non-Europeans and the open establishment of the naked dictatorship of the European minority over the Non-European majority, but rather the fear of losing equality for the English language. History has so often shown the weakness of trying to combine principle and self-interest as a basis for political policy. Sooner or later the latter motive takes precedence and cynical hypocrisy is enthroned.

The lack of firmly rooted principle in the United Party's opposition to the Act was ruthlessly exposed when the Nationalist

leaders first challenged its leaders to say whether they would repeal the measure if returned to power. Mr Strauss remained silent and no clear answer could be given by his supporters. It became obvious that they were looking over their shoulders at the electorate and wondering what effect a promise of repeal would have. Later, it is true, they took courage and stated that they would re-entrench the rights of the Coloured people, but that first silence had already revealed the basis on which their policy rested.

Now the Party is to test the Act in the courts and the onus passes to the Judiciary. No one will envy them their task and it may well be that a first-class crisis between the Legislature and the Judiciary will ensue.

The most positive action taken by the United Party in the 1951 session was to propose to introduce a Bill of Rights into the Act of Union if they are returned to power. This Bill would entrench the equality of the languages and the political rights of the Coloureds; the freedom of the Press, freedom of speech, movement and association; right of access to the courts, and a guaranteed independence of the courts; a paramount guarantee that South Africa will remain in the Commonwealth. Such a move could do some good to the political scene of the Union by stimulating discussion of the inherent rights of man in a democratic society, but could it have any practical significance in solving the fundamental problems of the nation? Once again this could only be so if the United Party took a positive attitude to the Non-European situation and determined whether or not Non-Europeans are to be regarded as citizens of a democracy. Dr Malan once more forced the Opposition on to the defensive when he pertinently pointed out that if these rights were established it would mean that restrictions on Indian and Native movement about the country would have to be removed and trade unions of Africans recognized. The United Party has not yet revealed whether it would be prepared for these consequences, but there can be little doubt as to their answer when faced by the European electorate or actually in office.

The fact is that on the Non-European issue there is no difference of principle between the Nationalists and the United Party. They may use different language, but they are both determined to maintain white supremacy and thus to stem the advance of the Non-Europeans in political and social development. They are thus united in fighting against the dominant trend of the African continent, as was to be clearly seen when both agreed that British policy in granting responsible government to the Gold Coast was 'precipitate'. The effect of this identity of outlook on the United Party is to remove from it that spirit of defiant opposition which can come only from a complete rejection of the principles of one's opponents and a determination to expose their immoral character and to substitute something entirely different. This spirit of opposition cannot be captured by the United Party simply because on matters of principle in Non-European policy, which dominates every aspect of South African life, it accepts the same premises as the Government.

It is because this increasing impotence of the United Party is realized by those who have been its main financial supporters that secret moves are now being made to transform its character. Business, industry and commerce have realized that in its present condition there is virtually no hope of it defeating the Nationalists. Yet in the political field there is no alternative for them to support. Towards the end of 1949, therefore, led by Harry Oppenheimer, M.P., the son of Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, a group of wealthy men founded the 'United South Africa Trust Fund'. Its object is 'to foster, encourage, and protect the ideals of freedom of speech, language, worship, and the fundamental rights of man as recognized by the Member States of the United Nations'.

The Trust Fund is a private concern and is not directly connected with any political party. Nevertheless, because it has been subscribed by the same people who have traditionally been the main financial supporters of the United Party, its creation and operation is affecting that Party considerably.

Its first effect was to increase importantly the funds of the Party, because there was no alternative party which it could

reasonably support. But by now the impotence and disunity of the Party have become so apparent that it is no longer content simply to throw money down the drain of the Party's coffers. It has therefore ceased to supply the Party with its main financial needs and, in consequence, the United Party is in dire financial straits.

Harry Oppenheimer is being very shrewd in his influence over the use of this money. He has done two things recently in connection with it. First he has ceased to finance the United Party generally and concentrated on one or two branches of its work, notably the information service. Through this he is able to call on the services of many experts on various aspects of policy and to have M.P.'s briefed—according to his conception of policy. Because of the lack of other sources of income the Party is rapidly passing under the control of this ambitious young man and his friends, and organizationally he is already the master.

Secondly he has used his influence to divert some of the donations which would normally have come to the fund into the treasury of the Torch Commando. Believing that this movement can do more to destroy the Nationalist Government than the United Party itself, he has seen to it that it has the funds available to do its job.

What the effect of this powerful control of political finance will be has yet to be seen. As mentioned above, the Oppenheimer group are not likely to adopt a policy of liberalism, yet they see sufficient of the realities of the situation to realize that the diluted Apartheid of the United Party will never solve any problems nor even win votes. They have yet to show their hand constructively, but there is no doubt that they will cause some considerable changes in the United Party itself.

As has been shown, one group of the Party believed that Mr Havenga could be wooed from the Nationalists. They have now been decisively disillusioned, but it is still possible that they may join with the Nationalists to support the Malan-Havenga section against Strydom and his friends.

Mr Strauss and his supporters have really little foundations for

support, particularly as the Smuts legend fades. Without control of finance which, in its turn, leads to a loss of control of appointments, they are prisoners, rather than masters of the Party. The whole future of the Party could hardly be more uncertain.

One of the common faults of a great man is an inability to tolerate around him any competitors in greatness and a failure to educate and train powerful successors to his leadership. In this respect there is a striking similarity between President Roosevelt, Mr Churchill and General Smuts. The latter, through the force of his own personality, gave South Africa a much more important place on the international stage than she was ever entitled to according to the size or importance of her nation. The General has left behind him much smaller men to take his place in national and international politics. Within the United Party even his great spirit was never able to solve the contradictions of that conflict between liberalism and conservatism, which are both essential characteristics of his Party, and which have led to the vague and indecisive policy which that Party has adopted on all matters of national importance. It may not necessarily be a bad thing for the Party to have a leader without the international greatness of Smuts, for a lesser man may be able to take a more intimate part in the political life of his own country, yet that essential weakness is still very present and, until the United Party can find some coherent voice, particularly towards that fundamental issue of colour policy, there would seem to be very little prospect of its facing with any strength the attacks now being made upon its supporters by the Nationalist Government or the very grave problems which face the South African nation.

•

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE TORCH COMMANDO

IN THE EARLY months of 1951 there arose in South Africa a movement unique in the history of this, if not of any country. It began as an organization named the 'War Veterans' Action Group', but, because of its tactics, it soon came to be known all over the world as the 'Torch Commando'. This organization very quickly became the most militant force opposing the Nationalist Government and forced the Prime Minister to revise his earlier opinion and admit that he took the movement very seriously.

The phenomenal growth of the Commando and the enthusiasm which it stimulated all over the country seem to be due to two main factors. In the first place it is obvious that there is in the country a widespread desire to do something more decisive than the United Party has devised to remove the Nationalist Government. The world should not be misled about this point. It is extremely doubtful whether the Nationalist movement has lost a single supporter since 1948. The bye-elections show that, if anything, it has gained rather than lost. But amongst those who opposed the Nationalists in the last election there has developed a frustrated feeling that they are not given the opportunity by the United Party to express their vehement opposition to Nationalism, all it stands for, and all the methods which it uses. This sentiment was particularly strong amongst ex-servicemen, who felt that the ideals they were prepared to die for during the war are being one by one destroyed by their own Government. The Springbok Legion, partly Communist-orientated, was one expression of this frustration. But the Springbok Legion could not release the energies of the greater part of the ex-servicemen simply because of its Communist reputation. Most ex-servicemen felt that Communism was almost as great a menace to their ideals as the Fascism they had destroyed in the war.

So when the small founder group announced the formation of the War Veterans under the leadership of the famous fighter pilot 'Sailor' Malan, first ex-servicemen, and later many other opponents of Nationalism, immediately recognized the opportunity of taking the action to depose the Nationalists which they had been seeking.

The second factor in the rapid growth of this movement is the support it has received from the Oppenheimer group. There is no reason to believe that it is directly financed by the United South African Trust Fund, but the sponsors of the Fund are known to have advised many of their contributors to make this year's subscriptions to the Commando instead of to the Fund. As anyone with experience in politics knows, however attractive a new idea may be, unless there is finance to give it the chance of becoming known, it will have a long and hard struggle before it becomes recognized. The Torch Commando has been spared this hard spadework by the support which Oppenheimer immediately ensured to it.

The symbolic insignia of the torch, the organization of torch-light processions and the culmination in the gathering of contingents from all over the country in Cape Town to hold a mass demonstration and present resolutions to the Government, caught the imagination of the public and fired the spirits of anti-Nationalists. The colourful personality of Group-Captain Malan was spotlighted in the world's Press, whilst the piquancy of his name added further opportunities of publicity. So, when the Commando convoys of war veterans, led by Malan and the 74 year old Boer veteran, Commandant A. J. de la Rey, converged on the Cape, 50,000 people came out into the streets to form the greatest political demonstration in the history of the city. The end was as might have been foreseen. After the procession had taken place fighting broke out between police and some of the demonstrators, and for the second time within twelve months Cape Town witnessed open violence between police and opponents of the Government.

At first the Nationalists treated the movement with scorn and contempt, Mr Swart, the Minister of Justice, describing it in the

House as a 'paraffin-tin commando', and referring to its members as 'skollies'. But before long members of the Government changed their tune. Mr Strydom threatened that the armed forces would be used against it if further such demonstrations were held, whilst the Prime Minister went out of his way at the Cape Nationalist Congress in East London in September 1951 to say that he took the Commando seriously and to give a warning that unpleasant things could happen if its members came to Nationalist meetings. Other members of the National Party accused the movement of being Communist and simply a resurrection of the Springbok Legion, of being the militarist branch of the United Party and of advocating the abolition of the colour bar.

Meanwhile the Commando was developing beyond its original purpose. It had arisen in order to defend the constitution which it saw endangered by the abrogation of the entrenched clauses in the passing of the Separate Representation of Voters Act. Encouraged by the large measure of support it aroused, it now took upon itself the task of getting rid of the Nationalist Government. The Oppenheimer group soon realized that it could become a vital force in this object and of much greater power than any other weapon possessed by the United Party. It was therefore organized on a constitutional basis, with a National Executive, Regional and Branch Committees, and an Annual Congress.

To meet the accusations of the Nationalists, members of the Springbok Legion, who had undoubtedly been mainly instrumental in the original formation of the movement, were kept out of prominence, whilst it was publicly stated that Communists would not be welcome in the organization. Whilst the United Party supported the aims and objects of the Commando it was denied that there was any official connection between the two organizations, whilst the leading members of the Commando denied that it was their object to abolish the colour bar. Already the Commando was taking the same course which had so often been the weakness of the United Party by retreating from the accusations of the Nationalists and indignantly denying any sympathy with liberalism. Like the United Party, it was allowing

the Nationalists to make the rules of political conduct and to impose their own philosophy as that of the entire nation.

The Torch Commando is now well established as an organized force in the political life of the country. Its stated principles are outlined in its constitution as:—

- (a) To uphold the letter and the spirit of the solemn compacts entered upon at the time of Union and the pledges in regard thereto since Union as moral obligations of trust and honour binding upon Parliament and the people;
- (b) To secure the repeal of any measures enacted in violation of such obligations;
- (c) To protect the freedom of the individual in worship, language and speech, and to ensure his right of free access to the Courts;
- (d) To eliminate all forms of totalitarianism, whether Fascist or Communist;
- (e) To promote racial harmony in the Union.

It might be added that its main, if not its only, object is to oust the Nationalist Government from office.

It is when we ask 'and what then', that the Commando is in difficulties. Its work as the spearhead of anti-Nationalism is progressing apace. The latest tactic I saw in 1951 was the mass posting of stickers bearing the caption 'Remember Alamein' and 'Onthou Alamein' and further such efforts of publicity are planned. The Government is undoubtedly worried as for the first time it is facing a movement which can equal and surpass it in imaginative public appeal. The fear of colour, on which the Nationalists have relied, might well become subordinate to the fear of totalitarianism.

Yet the question has still to be answered as to what policy is to be followed if the anti-Nationalist efforts of the Commando are successful. At the moment the United Party is the only alternative government and the intelligent members of the Commando know that the United Party is no more capable of solving the national problems of today than it was when in office.

It was in order to hear more of this issue that in September 1951 I went along to the headquarters of the Commando in Johannesburg in order to talk to the national officials. I had some discussion on the subject with Mr Kane-Berman, the National

Chairman. I found Mr Kane-Berman, middle-aged, with greying hair and a lively, humorous face, beset by the same problem I have observed in almost every other opponent of the Nationalists whom I have met in South Africa. Privately he is much more liberal than he dares appear publicly. So it was that he admitted to me that the Commando had virtually no programme other than getting rid of the Nationalists. When this has been achieved it may be that the movement will have to act as a pressure group on a United Party Government, but there is much less glamour and attraction in such a role. Although the original formation of the Commando movement took place on the occasion of the attack on the Coloureds' vote, Non-Europeans are admitted to the organization only grudgingly, must form separate branches and can only be represented by Europeans on the Regional Executives. Mr Kane-Berman admitted to me, as so many other opposition leaders had done, that whatever the private feelings of individual leaders of the movement might be, the organization as a body had to accept the colour prejudice of the nation.

This aspect of the Torch Commando was harshly exposed during the Alamein Day memorial demonstrations in October 1951. Many Coloured ex-servicemen expected to march in the demonstrations organized by the Commando. They were disappointed. Faced by the colour prejudice of the European community the Commando leaders retreated from the idea of a joint demonstration and confined it exclusively to white ex-servicemen. It is hardly surprising that the Non-Europeans regard this movement with considerable cynicism.

What then, is the future of this movement which has so quickly become headline news? The danger of such a semi-military movement without outside control becoming Fascist or, at least, dictatorially-minded, is always present, but with the present personalities in the lead it is not likely. It may be a mushroom growth which will fade and die as quickly as it grew, but the Nationalists may be expected to prevent that happening. The continuation of their intransigent policy can be expected to stimulate further fires into the opposition of the Torchmen. What

most people are now expecting is that before long there will be a bitter battle between the Commando supporters and Nationalists in some Nationalist stronghold.

What seems most likely to happen is that the Torch Commando will settle down to become the publicity spearhead of the United Party, but of a United Party largely controlled by the Oppenheimer group. Already Oppenheimer's influence in the Torch movement has been used to increase his growing control of the United Party, which, with his control of the Commando, he may soon be able to direct wherever he wishes. What he may do with such power is anyone's guess, but unless he and his friends can tackle the central problem of colour with more courage and reality than their predecessors, all the efforts of Torch Commandos will have been in vain and the removal of the Nationalists will be seen to have been an empty achievement.

CHAPTER EIGHT

OTHER FORMS OF EUROPEAN OPPOSITION

OUTSIDE THE UNITED Party, the main party of the Opposition, there are a number of groups inside and outside Parliament which, in one way or another, attempt to maintain an opposition to the present Government. Within the parliamentary scene we find the Labour Party, the Native Representatives and what used to be the Communist Party, and outside Parliament there are a number of organizations of a vaguely liberal character and some prominent individuals who, on occasion, speak or write with varying degrees of forthrightness against the colour policy which has the support of the vast majority of the European population. Most of these organizations and individuals not only reject the policy of the present Government, but almost equally condemn that of the United Party, and can be said to represent broadly the tradition of European liberalism.

The Labour Party is the exception to this generalization. It is curious and pathetic. For much longer than I desired, I listened to its leader, Mr Christie, explaining to me the policy of the Party, but the only real interest that he gave me was the fascination of watching a man, getting on in years, and comparatively experienced in the Labour movement, trying to prove that socialism and racial discrimination can exist together. It was perhaps the sorriest and most pathetic exhibition that I saw in the Union.

Knowing something of the Labour movement of Europe, I was particularly curious to discover how it was possible for the Labour Party to maintain a policy of colour discrimination. I knew that the Labour Party of South Africa had not only consistently maintained this attitude throughout its life, but, at one period during the twenties, had even formed a Coalition Government with the Nationalists. It seemed to me that the only issue on which the Nationalists and Socialists could have any common ground was that of State control, and it was surely obvious that

the kind and purposes of such control must differ very widely between the two organizations. It was therefore with a good deal of bewilderment and curiosity that I met Mr Christie in the Lobby of the House and sat for the best part of an hour listening to his dissertation.

His apologia comes down to a very simple issue. The white man has a colour prejudice and therefore the Labour Party and the Trade Unions must maintain the colour bar. Socialism is to be the monopoly of the white population and there is no prospect of any modification in this attitude in the future. Even the fact that under the Building Works Bill the Non-European is to have an apprenticeship of not more than three years as against the five years of the European apprentice and is to be excluded from European areas, did not seem to Mr Christie to contradict any of the principles of the Socialist movement. Actually the fact is that the Labour and Trade Union movement of South Africa is designed more to protect the European worker from competition by the Non-European than to promote the basic principles of socialism. [7]

The Trade Union movement itself has been constantly split on the colour issue and there are frequent break-aways from the Trades and Labour Council and from every other organization which has tried to organize South African trade unionism on a unified basis. The truth is that there are very few European workers in South Africa, in the usual meaning of the term. Every European has such a privileged position and artificial standard of living that the normal working class of European countries just does not exist. If there is a proletariat it is to be found amongst the Non-Europeans, almost all of whom are on this footing and have no hope or opportunity of rising from it. The main object of the European trade union movement therefore tends to become the safeguarding of this privileged position at all costs, and not the seeking of unity between all workers and an increase in their general standard of living.

The fact that the reduction of the standard of life and the restriction of political and economic rights amongst any section

of the workers ultimately results inevitably in similar restrictions amongst the working class as a whole, does not yet seem to have penetrated to the South African movement. However that may be, it certainly would seem that Mr Christie and his friends have devised a Socialist Party with a very unusual conception of socialism.

The Native Representatives in the House of Assembly are a curiously assorted trio. Mrs Ballinger is the most famous, being easily the outstanding parliamentarian in the recent history of the Union. W. H. Stuart has a personality which continually baffled my simple mind, for he is seemingly engaged in continual plots and deep-laid plans of his own invention, confined apparently to his own mind. Sam Kahn is the only Communist member of the House, or, to be more accurate, he was a Communist when I was at the House, though later he announced that the Communist Party had been dissolved.

Mrs Ballinger is a fascinating personality. Her plump figure, motherly appearance, and expressive face are well known throughout the Union, and any platform which she graces is certain to draw a capacity audience. Her father was a Scotsman who emigrated to the Union and fought for the Boer cause during the South African War. He was taken prisoner and only saved from execution for treason by the fact that he was able to establish that he had previously become a Burgher of the Orange River Colony. She herself was born in Scotland and, after a distinguished student career in South Africa and Somerville, she became a history lecturer under Professor Macmillan at Witwatersrand University. Under the curious conditions of appointment in South African academic life, she had to resign this post on her marriage to William Ballinger, whom she had been assisting in his investigations amongst the Native Trade Unions and the peoples of the Protectorates. In 1936, when the Natives of the Cape were removed from the common electoral roll, she was one of the three parliamentary representatives who were elected by the Natives to sponsor their interests in the House of Assembly. Since then, both in the Union and in Europe, she has been continually at work

writing, organizing and above all, speaking in the House and on public platforms on their behalf. Her speeches on any issue of Native affairs surpass anything else to be heard in the House of Assembly and she is a master, not only of concisely constructive criticism of the arguments of her opponents, but of representing any plan in straightforward language and expressing a practical, commonsense attitude towards any problem under discussion. Above all, she is a passionate democrat in the European sense and the whole force of her personality is thrown into the battle for what she sees as the basic principles of liberal democracy. From my first meeting with her, in spite of her extremely busy life, she showed me unfailing kindness and was the principal agent in introducing me to the people whom I wished to meet in the House. It was obvious to me, whenever I was in the House, that even her opponents had some affection for her, and there can be few in South Africa who do not admire the courageous stand made over the last fifteen years by this outstanding woman.

Mrs Ballinger is supported in all her work by her husband, Senator William Ballinger. This mild little man, peering through his horn-rimmed spectacles, has probably incurred more hate from Nationalist circles than any other individual in the Union. William Ballinger came out to the Union in 1928 through the joint interest of the Yorkshire novelist, Winifred Holtby and the Trades Union Congress. He came originally to try and help Clements Kadalie to bring some order into the affairs of the Industrial and Commercial Union, one of the biggest unions ever organized for Non-European workers. He stayed to interest himself in all the affairs of the Non-Europeans in the Union and in the Protectorates and has carried into the politics of South Africa something of the principled directness and fervour of the British Independent Labour Party, in which he was trained.

It is this directness and the manner he has of stripping aside the cloaks of hypocrisy worn by so many politicians that have led to the bitter hatred with which he has been surrounded. Probably in parliamentary life Senator Ballinger is more forthright, and carries a more direct punch, than his more famous wife, so that

nothing of the affectionate tolerance which Margaret Ballinger is sometimes accorded has ever been spared for William. The Government has done its best to have him expelled from the country and it was only at the end of August 1950 that he eventually won the action which had been taken against him by his Nationalist opponent in the Senatorial Elections of 1948, to have this election nullified. It was argued by his Nationalist opponent that Senator Ballinger was not a Union National and had never acquired the status of a South African citizen. If this case had been proved, Senator Ballinger would undoubtedly have been deported from the country.

I think perhaps the most courageous thing that William Ballinger did whilst in my company was to take round the Houses of Parliament a Non-European friend of mine who had never been able to see her own Parliament building because of the fact that she was not a European. On that evening, both Houses were crowded and the galleries and lobbies held many distinguished people. It says much for the courage of Senator Ballinger that he was prepared to face any odium and embarrassment which might be heaped on him for appearing in that august assembly with a Non-European.

A great deal has been said and written about the menace of Communism in South Africa and, during the last days of the 1950 parliamentary session, there were bitter and heated debates on the passing of the Suppression of Communism Act. The atmosphere of tension within the House was greatly heightened by the meetings of protest against the Bill held throughout the country, and particularly by the demonstration which marched to the Houses of Parliament one night to protest against the passage of this Act.

I had been attending a number of meetings on that particular evening and was in the Town Hall when I heard a crowd marching past the building. Having had some experience of similar demonstrations in Europe, I was curious to see what effect it would have upon the tense South African scene. I therefore hurried from the Town Hall and took several short cuts in order to contact the demonstration as it made its way up Parliament Street.

I immediately noticed two important factors. On the one hand, the nearer the demonstrators approached to the Parliament buildings the more nervous they became and the pace, which had at one time approached a run, rapidly decreased to a half-hearted shuffle. The second factor was the equally nervous and tense attitude of the young policemen whom I noticed were manning all the entrances to the gardens which surround the Parliament buildings and who were clearly there in considerable force, expecting trouble. There was a decided atmosphere amongst them of nervous tension, demonstrated by their humourless laughs and anxious chatter.

Parliament Street itself is very narrow and the space available for the marchers was even further reduced by the presence of Members' cars parked along one side of the road. On the left hand side are the tall Government buildings and on the right, the railings enclosing the Parliament building itself and its surrounding gardens. The demonstrators held a number of placards on which slogans had been written and they assembled outside the main entrance gate to the Houses of Parliament. Hardly had they arrived when I noticed another strong squad of police entering Parliament Street from a short side street above, thus effectively sealing the demonstration into a narrow cul-de-sac. The atmosphere was electric, for although the demonstrators were unarmed and attempted nothing but the shouting of slogans, the presence of strong armed detachments of khaki and blue-clad policemen and the audience of Members of Parliament and their wives on the balcony outside the House, presented in miniature the two hostile camps into which the South African nation is divided.

I had a front-row view of the events which took place, for I was standing against the pillar of the main entrance gate between the leading ranks of the demonstration and the forces of the police. For a few moments nobody seemed to know what to do. The demonstrators could do nothing but shout slogans in a half-hearted manner and the police did not appear to have received any definite orders.

Suddenly, a young police officer came to the entrance gate a

few feet from the crowd and began to warn them that he would give them five minutes to disperse. Before his sentence was finished, the tension of the police seemed to break and they charged from all sides. In the ensuing scramble, many heads were broken and people who had no connection with the demonstration at all were quickly involved.

This incident, under the very eyes of the Members of Parliament themselves, was symptomatic at one and the same time of the nervous tension which so frequently provokes racial riots in South Africa and of the brutal methods which the police like to use when in personal contact with Non-Europeans.

Three incidents in particular stand out in my mind. The first was widely publicized by a photograph published in the Nationalist daily newspaper *Die Burger* the following day. A few feet from where I stood a small Coloured man lay on the ground, whilst a European stamped his foot into his face and a policeman belaboured his head with his baton. Reminiscence of the Nazi jackboot could hardly have been clearer. The second was the appeal by a number of policemen to some Europeans in the demonstration to get out of the way and go home and let the police get at the Non-Europeans. The third was the sight of a police officer vehemently insisting to a number of policemen returning from the fray to remember that the crowd had thrown stones before the police charged. A few minutes later the street was cleared, except for one or two individuals lying bleeding on the ground and a few of the broken placards carried by the demonstrators, and Members of Parliament were free to come out of the House, laughing and joking with their wives, to their cars.

It was in this atmosphere that the debate on the Act to suppress Communism was held. The principal protagonists were Mr Swart, the Minister of Justice, and Mr Sam Kahn, the only Communist member of the House. In his speech moving the second reading of the Bill Mr Swart drew a vivid picture of Communist activity designed to foment revolution throughout the Union. In doing so, it was interesting to note that he drew upon intercepted letters, telephone calls which had been tapped and secret meetings and

resolutions. One ironically amusing incident occurred when a naïve member of the United Party got up to question the source of some of this information, but was hastily pulled down by an older member of the same Party who realized that much of it had been collected by the United Party Government itself. The core of Mr Swart's case was that the Communist Party was secretly exploiting the conditions of the nation to create imaginary grievances in the minds of unenlightened Natives and thus to stir up hatred amongst them towards the white race. He asserted that the Communists had organized penetration of the Trade Unions and that they had a secret military branch of the Party, which he strongly indicated was in fact the Springbok Legion, composed of ex-Service men and women. Hesitating somewhat in going further, through his fear of causing panic throughout the nation, Mr Swart eventually brought himself to tell the House of a secret Communist organization amongst the Natives which was preparing a great coup on a date not yet fixed. When the signal was given, he said, this organization would move into action in order to poison water supplies, cut off the current at power stations and murder people whom they wished to remove. Above all, he claimed that the principal object of the Communist Party in South Africa was to create hostility between Europeans and Non-Europeans. It was as a result of this threat to the State that the Government had brought forward the Bill to suppress all forms of Communism.

When he rose to reply to this attack, Mr Kahn, the only Communist ever to have a seat in the South African Houses of Parliament, made a speech which even his opponents had to admit demonstrated the courage of one man facing a House of one hundred and fifty opponents. So far as the accusations of revolutionary action were concerned, Mr Kahn challenged the Minister to place his arguments and evidence before an impartial tribunal and described them as a 'complete and monstrous fabrication'. He went on to assert that the Bill was not directed simply against the Communists, but that under it every form of democratic right was attacked, and that General Smuts himself could be banned from Parliament under its clauses. He pointed out that the

Nationalists accused some United Party and Labour Party members of being Communists and that the real intention behind the Bill was to establish a Nazi police state in which any opposition to the Government could be crushed.

There was one dramatic moment during his speech when he referred to a pamphlet which had been published by his Party, entitled *The Malanazi Menace*, which had been banned by the Government. The Communist Party had appealed to the Supreme Court against the ban and on the request of the Minister of Justice, the Speaker ruled that this matter was sub judice. Mr Kahn was in the triumphant position to tell the House that the matter was no longer sub judice and that judgement had been given in favour of the Communist Party that morning only. It was when he was referring further to this judgement that the Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr Louw, made the enlightening interjection, 'That shows the need for these powers', which understandably aroused the whole Opposition to an uproar, demanding to know what the Government intended to do with the judges.

The Communist member roused the Nationalists to passionate heat by quoting from their earlier speeches in support of National Socialism and ended up by reiterating the principles for which the Communist Party stood.

In view of the importance of realizing something of the meaning of Communism to the peoples of South Africa, it would perhaps be wise to quote those principles as stated by the Party itself.

'The Communist Party of South Africa is the political party of the working class. Its aims are:

1. To organize the workers as a class to establish working-class rule and the Socialist Republic.
2. To prepare the way for the Socialist Republic and to defend and promote the interests of the workers and oppressed nationalities by organizing and leading them in the political and industrial struggle for:—
 - (a) the abolition of imperialism and the establishment of an independent Republic of the people;

- (b) the extension to all adults, regardless of race, colour or sect, of the right to vote for and to be elected to parliamentary, provincial, municipal and other representative institutions;
- (c) the removal of all political, social, economic and cultural colour bars that hold up the progress and development of any national group and divide the working class;
- (d) the raising of wages, redistribution of land and improvement of social living conditions for all persons.'

I am by no means a Communist and, indeed, have spent a considerable part of my life in opposing the Communist movement. This will be amply borne out by the British Communist ex-Member of Parliament, Mr William Gallacher, of whose bitter anger I have frequently been the victim throughout his old constituency of West Fife. I have, therefore, considerable knowledge and experience of the activities and organization of the Communist Party in Europe and thus have some qualifications to comment upon Communism in South Africa.

To one who knows Communism and Communists in Europe it is obvious that the Communist movement of South Africa would never be considered as such in any European country. I met many South African Communists, but only one of them would ever have been recognized as a member of the working class. The propaganda which they use has little, if any, relation to Marxism, and they are certainly not so stupid as to try and teach the involved doctrines of the Marxist philosophy to the semi-literate mass of Natives.

The Communist movement in South Africa depends entirely for what little support it has on its doctrine of racial equality, in which it differs not at all from the policy of liberalism. It is the only political party, in which Europeans take an active part, that demands complete equality for the people of all skin colours and it is only on this issue that any widespread support is forthcoming for its doctrines amongst the Natives.

Just before the Suppression of Communism Act became law,

the Communist Party officially announced its dissolution, but the ideas on which it was based will undoubtedly continue to play a large part in the political outlook of the Non-European population. Whether they are termed 'communist' or not, these ideas are held by all politically conscious Non-Europeans and form demands based upon the classic tenets of European liberalism. It would be well if the Western European democracies realized this position, for when individuals like Sir Percy Sillitoe, head of M.I.5, are sent to confer with Government authorities in South Africa, the Non-Europeans naturally believe that Britain is supporting the suppression of their rights.

The activities of Sir Percy Sillitoe in Southern Africa have indeed a sinister atmosphere and have done much to destroy any confidence which Non-Europeans might have had left in the policy of the British Government. It has not escaped their notice that the visit of this gentleman to Southern Rhodesia and the Union was immediately followed by the production of the Sedition Act in the former, and the Suppression of Communism Act in the latter country. His subsequent visit to Australia was also followed by the attempt of the Australian Government to suppress the Communist Party. This hardly seems coincidence, and certainly the Non-Europeans cannot be persuaded that it is so. They have become very cynical about any support they may receive from a Labour Government after this incident, and bitterly point out that not only did Sillitoe apparently advise the Malan Government on their anti-Communist measure, but he left two of his men behind to assist in its operation. The Non-European will tell you that this is only one more example of British two-faced policy. Whilst expressing dislike of Nationalist measures, the British Government is, in fact, assisting the Nationalists to maintain their power and resist the claims of Non-Europeans for political rights.

The stand which Mr Kahn made against the Suppression of Communism Act was supported by many people who are complete opponents of Communism. On one occasion I was invited to lunch in the Houses of Parliament dining room by Senator and

Mrs Ballinger, and our table was made up of our two hosts, Mr Kahn and his wife, and Father Huddleston and two ladies. These latter three people had journeyed from Johannesburg to bring with them a petition against the Act, signed at a mass meeting of protest held the previous week. Incidentally, the lunch was held on the day on which the visiting French mannequins were entertained in the House and I have never forgiven Mrs Ballinger for placing Father Huddleston and Mr Kahn in the place of vantage and leaving me with my back to the French beauties!

Protests against the Act came from all over the country and particularly from the Cape Town and Johannesburg Bars. It was clear that there was a very great feeling of fear that this Act would undermine completely the democratic fabric of the South African tradition and lay the way wide open for the establishment of an authoritarian power with all opponents of the Government at its mercy. Since the Act became law long lists of people accused of being Communists have been drawn up and these now have the onus thrust upon them to prove that they are not Communists. It is expected that Mr Kahn will be unseated on this ground during the next parliamentary session, and there is no doubt that all opponents of the present Government feel that so long as this Act remains on the Statute Book an axe is suspended above their heads.

During 1950 some of those who had been 'named' under the Act, led by the ex-Communist Member of Parliament, Sam Kahn, took action in the courts against the appointed liquidator. The Communist Party had been dissolved before the Act came into force and its former members claimed that they could no longer be termed Communists. The Government, however, soon had an answer for this tactic, just as they had found an answer when the courts declared that they were not entitled to confiscate passports. In the 1951 session they passed an amendment to the original Act making its provisions retrospective, so that an individual who had taken action which at the time was perfectly legal could now be brought under its aegis. It hardly needs to be pointed out that although the provisions of the original Act were completely

contrary to the basic rule of law on which all democratic society rests, this retrospective legislation destroyed the last shred of democratic pretence. To punish a person for an act which at the time was completely legal simply because another Government is in office and has decided to declare such actions illegal is to remove the last vestiges of confidence in law itself.

Already (September 1951) it is known that between 300 and 400 people have been 'named' under the amended Act. [8] It is perhaps significant that the first action was taken against two African trade unionists. Once 'named' and unable to prove that the 'naming' is unjustified, such people are completely in the hands of the Minister. If he orders them to resign from any organization or to relinquish any office they may hold, they have no option but to do so, and if he wishes he can even command them to remove their residence to any part of the country. The unrestricted use of this power which is contemplated may be seen from the speech on the Bill made in the House by the Nationalist Member, Mr J. von Moltke, who said:

The argument has been used and a question asked whether a minister of the Gospel will be attacked when he preaches from the pulpit the Christian principles of fraternity and equality. If they want to use the holy toga of the church for preaching Communist propaganda of equality in South Africa, whether it is the hon. member for Cape Eastern [Mrs Ballinger], who is doing so in this House, or whether it is a minister of religion from the pulpit in South Africa, I maintain that we can take steps under this legislation. If he preaches that aim of equality—socially, economically and politically—a Communist dogma, here in South Africa, it would be madness on our part if we allowed it after passing a law to suppress Communism, and if we allowed them to dissolve their party and get on pulpits, or to creep out somewhere else in disguise and propagate exactly the same things as the Communists are propagating.

If anyone wishes to understand the meaning which 'Communism' has for the Nationalists in South Africa it cannot be more clearly stated than in this speech. This is the 'Communism' which is now being suppressed by law in the Union.

Outside the parliamentary political field there have grown up a

number of organizations which can be considered to be a part of the opposition in the country to the policy of the present Government. Although they rarely, if ever, intervene actively in political affairs, they are undoubtedly designed to influence the political thinking of the nation in a direction which is hostile to the main trend of Nationalist policy.

Chief amongst these organizations is the South African Institute of Race Relations. This corresponds in many respects to the Royal Institute of International Affairs at Chatham House, in that it accepts no political creed and is concerned to provide the opportunity for a discussion of racial affairs from different points of view. Its aim is, 'To encourage, work for, and foster peace, goodwill, and practical co-operation between the various sections and races of the population of Southern Africa.' This does not necessarily indicate that the Institute would be hostile to Nationalist policy, but by its promotion of inter-racial activity and because of its inter-racial membership, its whole outlook is necessarily opposed to the policy of complete segregation accepted by the Government.

The Institute has done a great deal to sponsor research and publication on inter-racial affairs and one of its activities, that of experiment in the field of literacy amongst Africans, is actually subsidized by the Union Education Department.

The second of these organizations is the Society of the Friends of Africa, which was the body formed as a result of the interest taken by Winifred Holtby after her tour of Africa in 1926. It was the London Committee, set up as a result of her interest, which originally sent Senator Ballinger to South Africa and he still remains its Secretary and Organizer.

The object of this Society is rather more definite than that of the Institute, for it aims, through its recognition of the brotherhood of man, at the promotion of co-operation and harmony between all South African races. Again, this is not necessarily a form of activity contrary to the declared aims of the National Party, but the interpretation of the word 'co-operation' by the society is vastly different from that of the present Government.

In various parts of the country too, joint councils of European and Non-European have been set up to further co-operation of the two peoples and to take up any issue of welfare or injustice which may be discovered in the district. Such activity is naturally frowned upon by the Government for it brings together, on a basis of equality, Europeans and Non-Europeans and naturally tends to regard the present measures of segregation as unjust.

A variety of organizations of a similar nature have at various times been set up in different parts of the Union, usually in the towns. One might mention in this connection the Council of Civil Rights in Durban, the Active Citizens' League in Johannesburg, and the Civil Rights League in Cape Town. The Constitution of the latter organization will give an example of the type of attitude taken by these bodies. It consists of a five point programme:

- (1) Defend the established rights of all races.
- (2) Maintain the sovereignty of Parliament.
- (3) Resist unconstitutional changes in the existing Constitution.
- (4) Resist inordinate curtailment of the liberties of the individual.
- (5) Combat oppressive discrimination based on colour, race or creed.

These organizations are usually most active at times such as those of the 1949, 1950, and 1951 legislative sessions, when Acts like the Citizenship Act, the Group Areas Act, the Suppression of Communism Act and the Separate Representation of Voters Act are being debated in Parliament. It is usually on their initiative that meetings of protest are held and opposing resolutions passed.

Perhaps the most positive proposals to come from one of these organizations, if not from any organization in the whole of South Africa, were made at the 1951 annual meeting of the Cape Town branch of the Civil Rights League. The chairman, Mr Leo Marquard, proposed that the programme of the League should include the extension of the franchise to Non-Europeans on a

common roll by stages and the gradual abolition of the colour bar in industry. Here at last is a positive and constructive alternative to Nationalist policy. What its future may be time alone will tell, but, as Mr Marquard added, 'It will be immensely difficult to persuade people of this. You may even find yourself "named" as a Communist if you try—but do not let us be frightened out of our wits.'

One should also note that the churches are brought into an ever-increasing contact with the central national problem of colour policy and its political implications. The dominant church in the Union is the Dutch Reformed Church, which, in general, supports the aims of the Nationalists, although, as mentioned above, it would accept rather the full political policy of total Apartheid than the modified version of the National Party. This church has divided itself progressively into European and Non-European congregations and has organized a separate mission section for Non-Europeans.

But amongst other churches, segregation is by no means so rigid, yet it is a normal practice, where there are mixed congregations, for Europeans and Non-Europeans to sit separately.

Over the last three years, since the implementation of Apartheid has become the official Government policy, the churches have been forced to take a more public attitude towards the issue of segregation, and this has particularly been the case since the Nationalists advanced claims to control the choice of school for the child and the content of education. Among the churches, with the exception of the Dutch Reformed Church, opposition to the Government's policy is increasingly stiffened, and in some cases the Government's interference in matters which the churches claim to be their own has been roundly condemned by church conferences. The claims of the State in the field of education and its rules regarding the legality of marriage have brought churches increasingly into conflict with the Nationalist Government, and such conflict will undoubtedly increase.

One should also mention in this resumé of opposition forces, the influence of a number of prominent individuals, expressing

different variations of the liberal theme, either by pen or word. People like Senator Brookes, Julius Lewin, Professor J. S. Marais, Advocates Molteno and Buchanan, Leo Marquard and Sheila van der Horst are some of the names which come to mind in this connection, whilst the weekly publication *Forum* was a regular avenue for the diffusion of such ideas until its demise at the end of 1951. These individuals are often associated with one of the organizations mentioned above, but each of them has built up a reputation of his own and expresses an individual point of view. Generally speaking, they are none of them acceptable to even the left wing of the United Party, although some of them have on occasion been members of the Party, but on the platform or through the columns of such papers as the *Cape Times*, the *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Port Elizabeth Evening Post*, they maintain a continual criticism of the present trend of political and social policy.

The fact is that the handful of liberals in the Union are more prominent and easier to identify than those of any other part of the continent. There is a much more varied pattern of opinion in South Africa than, for example, in the Rhodesias, where European opinion is almost entirely uniform. Moreover, the universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand have still jealously preserved their multi-racial character against all attacks, and this example is unique in the academic record of Africa.

This body of liberal opinion has also built up an excellent literature on race relations, a literature which still awaits those who are prepared to experiment in this vital subject and put theories to the practical test.

The strength of the impact of liberal views is demonstrated by the constant scathing references made by Nationalist members and Ministers to 'liberalism', and, as has already been shown, liberals are more than likely to come under the restrictions of the Suppression of Communism Act. One Nationalist M.P., Mr J. E. Potgieter, even suggested at a public meeting that after 'all those who support the perpetuation of white supremacy in South Africa had come together, they would be strong enough to place the

liberal Europeans, who desired the return of the Coloured voters to the common roll, on a separate roll of their own.'

Perhaps the greatest problem which the liberals face is their attitude to the United Party. Several attempts have been made to form a separate Liberal Party, but all have failed, for most liberals fear that their views would not gain any support from the electorate. Thus South Africa is denied the opportunity of hearing the liberal case stated boldly and consistently in strength. Most liberals believe that they must support the United Party as the lesser evil. Yet if they are going to prevent the complete and final alienation of all Non-European opinion from all Europeans, and if the European population is ever to hear the voice of reality, sooner or later there must be people in South Africa willing to ignore the counting of votes at the next election, and even the one after that, and prepared to set out on the long and hard task of building confidence amongst Non-Europeans that some Europeans are anxious to fight for their equality of opportunity, and to begin the equally difficult task of educating the European population to face reality and fight their prejudices. If this is not done, whether it is under the Nationalists or under the United Party, the colour issue will bring complete racial tragedy to South Africa.

Finally, one should note that whatever may be the actions and attitudes on racial issues of the magistrates in different localities, the independence of the Judiciary has so far been strikingly maintained by the South African Supreme Court. During that period of six months from March to September 1950, when the whole trend of Government policy was to insist upon the power and authority of the State in all inter-racial issues, the Supreme Court gave nine major decisions against the Government. It has often been the case, throughout judicial history, that a judge is the strongest upholder of the rule of law, no matter what may be his political opinions and, so far, this principle has been upheld in South Africa. The Supreme Court has proved to the citizens of the country that before its Bench, race, politics, and expediency are ignored. How long that may continue is a matter of conjecture,

but it is noteworthy that in the Suppression of Communism Act, and in the interjection noted above of the Minister of Economic Affairs in the debate on that Act, the Nationalist Government has shown that it realizes the necessity of circumventing rather than defying the highest court of the nation.

We have already seen how, when the courts give a judgement unfavourable to the Government, that Government immediately passes a new law to legalize its desired action. In August 1951, however, a more serious suggestion was made by Dr G. W. Eybers, writing in *Inspan*, the official organ of the Reddingsdaadbond, the economic wing of the Broederbond. Dr Eybers was formerly a high official in the Department of Education and his proposition should be taken seriously.

Shortly, Dr Eybers suggested that the Government should pass a law to prohibit courts of law from deciding on the validity of an Act of Parliament and dismiss any judges who 'act in such an unconstitutional manner and declare their decisions null and void'.

Ever since the courts gave their verdicts against the Government there have been fears that the Judiciary would be subjected to interference. When discussing the situation if the courts should declare the Separate Representation of Voters Act *ultra vires*, the Prime Minister referred to the crisis in the courts of the old Transvaal Republic, which ended with President Kruger dismissing Chief Justice Kotze. The precedent is therefore established for the Nationalists, and Dr Eybers' article should serve as a warning that to the Nationalists the Judiciary has no sanctity if it stands in the way of their chosen path. [9]

In spite of these varieties of opposition to the present Government, it should not be thought that the power or influence of the opposition is very great. In the first place, the principles on which the Government is acting are broadly accepted by the great majority of the European people. Secondly, the opposition is spasmodic, individual, and disunited and has no common ground for its resistance. Thirdly, there has not yet been developed any sign of such a consistent scheme of political action amongst the opposition as is to be seen within the ranks of the Nationalists.

The policy of Apartheid may be opposed by individuals and groups, but, so far, no alternative policy has been devised. Very few of the sections or individuals who oppose the Government would accept the principle of equality in political, social, and economic life, and even fewer would accept a policy of complete assimilation of the different races. If any alternative lies between Apartheid and equality as opposing conceptions of the South African future, or outside both of them, it has not yet been conceived, and, until such an alternative appears, there can hardly be any prospect that the determined political policy of the present Government can be stemmed or overcome.

GOLD AND SKYSCRAPERS—DUNG AND
HOVELS

I STAYED IN THE Cape for three months before starting on a tour of the rest of the country. This plan was deliberate, for I had been strongly advised to assimilate the atmosphere of the country thoroughly in one area before setting out to visit the Union as a whole. Cape Town had been convenient, for not only had I been there for the second half of the parliamentary session, and thus had the facilities to meet politicians and civil servants, but the city itself and its surroundings provide examples of all the principal race contacts to be found in the Union. Indeed, I was assured by a number of Members of Parliament that during my three months in Cape Town I had seen far more of the realities of South Africa than the vast majority of South Africans saw in a lifetime. But though I was frequently told that I needed to go no further to gain a thorough impression of life within the Union, I was anxious to visit other cities and to see something of life in the rural areas, as well as to admire the magnificent scenery of the country.

In particular, I was determined to see the African in all his different environments. I wonder how many South Africans, when they assure visitors or people overseas that no one can know anything of Africans who have not lived in Africa, ever ask themselves just how much they themselves know of the Africans they speak so glibly about. How many of them have ever been in a Reserve, except to dash through in a huge American car at 70 miles an hour? How many of them have ever been inside a rondavel to see the life of an African family in the Reserves, or into one of the shanty towns, squatters' camps or sacking shelters that form the 'houses' of Africans in town and country? Or, for that matter, how many South African Europeans have ever visited any of the modern housing schemes which some of the better

municipalities are trying to build on the perimeters of their towns? Certainly very few of the Europeans I met had ever talked to Africans or other Non-Europeans as though they were human beings, in order to find out their thoughts and ideas on their life. In fact, one of the most dangerous factors in South African life is the appalling ignorance which the European population has of the realities of Non-European life. With the honourable exception of members of the Government and Municipal Native Affairs Departments, whose officials often devote their lives to discovering the facts, most Europeans are content to generalize from complete ignorance of the peoples of whom they claim to be the trustees, and it is not therefore surprising that their opinions are frequently dangerously wild and often simply ludicrous.

It was in order to make certain that before I began to think and talk about Africans I knew some of them and had seen them in their homes at work and at play, that I planned a tour by car from Cape Town via Bloemfontein to Johannesburg, on to Durban and back through the Transkei and Ciskei, through Port Elizabeth to the Cape. I am quite aware of the fact that I did not by any means cover the whole country, but that would require much more time than I had at my disposal. Nevertheless, I claim that in this three thousand mile tour I saw and met Africans in every walk of life in which they are to be found in the Union. I saw them on the farms of the Cape and the Orange Free State. I met them in the mines and urban areas of Johannesburg. I had discussions with their political and trade union leaders. I met their chiefs and village communities in the Reserves. I had talks with their intellectuals at Fort Hare. For many weeks I was living amongst and with Africans, and, though I realize that my knowledge is only at its beginning, I believe that my experiences and impressions have some little value in the consideration and discussion of this tremendous problem of African and European contact in African society.

I made this journey in the old Ford that everyone told me was far beyond her capacities. In doing so, I was very generously assisted by the interest of the Ford Company itself who, from

Port Elizabeth, arranged for the car to be thoroughly checked over by their agents in Cape Town. It was true, of course, that the agents told me that what was required was a new car, but nevertheless, at least psychologically, I felt far more confident in facing the three thousand mile journey round the main centres of the Union after their mechanics had passed it as dangerous to no one but myself.

I can certainly recommend a 1936 Ford Ten as a means of transport, although this is not generally considered ideal for use on South African roads. I travelled the full three thousand miles with no more serious trouble than three punctures, and during the time I was in South Africa this faithful old car carried me for over ten thousand miles. It was not only a means of transport, but a hotel as well, for I fixed the front seats in such a way that when they were removed and turned upside down at night they formed a most comfortable bed, and when it was raining, with the removal of the two front seats and the use of a spirit stove kindly lent to me by Mr Abduraman from Cape Town, the dining room was ready too.

It had been raining for several days when I eventually left Cape Town and how it can rain in the Cape at this time of the year! As I drove north along the road to Bellville however, the sun came through and I felt excited at the thrill of being back on the road, facing the adventure of exploring a new country. On reckoning up, I realized with some amusement that my trip was starting with the best possible prospect of good fortune for, as I passed the Town Hall, the clock showed that it was 1 p.m.—thirteen hours, on July 13th, exactly thirteen weeks after I had landed in the country on April 13th!

The journey from Cape Town to Johannesburg occupied some days for I took the opportunity to observe something of the African and Coloureds' way of life in the country. On the farms the relationship is considerably simpler than in the towns, for the master and servant, or even lord and serf, relationship remains almost unbroken. Out here in the remote veld the white man has lived as a conqueror for the last hundred years and ideas of

equality or even of similarity hardly exist. This is why the Nationalists are constantly holding up the rural colour relations as an example to the nation of the attitude which they would like to see followed universally.

It is true that some farmers are quite kind to their Non-European workers, as it is that some country towns, like Beaufort West and Richmond, have built fine housing schemes for Non-Europeans. But the attitude approximates closely to the good treatment of farm animals, in order to get the best work out of them. And again, in these country districts, remote from the law or from public opinion, brutality has little likelihood of punishment and undoubtedly exists on some considerable scale.

As I drove over the dusty roads, moving slowly to avoid my springs being broken by the appalling corrugations, and in order to see the country closely, I was particularly struck by the violent contrasts of these rural areas. Through the mountains of the Cape, across the great flat expanses of the plateau and the wastes of the Karoo, amongst the valleys of the Free State, I was continually passing families of beggars, dressed in the scantiest of rags, carrying all their meagre possessions on their heads. In the evening or morning their primitive shelters of twigs and sacks could be seen along all the roadsides, whilst at the slightest sign of friendliness they would come in dozens to beg for food. Every farm had its outhouses of mud, wood or tin, where the Non-European workers and servants lived, and every town and village its Non-European quarter on the outskirts where the normal type of shelter was built of mud, wood, tin cans and hessian.

On the other hand, the European dwellings, whether it be the whitewashed farmsteads or the town bungalows with their pleasant stoeps, were a picture in themselves. Nowhere did I see European slums or any sign of poverty, and though it was a common sight on Sunday to see farmer and wife in their trap dressed in rough cloth suits and long old-fashioned skirts and bonnets, the quality was never lacking. Moreover these people of the platteland are the most courteous and helpful I have met, certainly much more so than in the towns, as soon as they recognize you as a European.

I never stopped for more than a few minutes on the road without being asked if I needed assistance—but I was a European and they recognized me as of the same human family as themselves. Little has changed here since the bitter days of the Great Trek, the Dutch churches, beautifully floodlit at night, still dominate every village, whilst their people are convinced beyond reasoning that the Scriptures permanently decree that white is blessed and black accursed.

Coming straight from the Cape, it was also noticeable to me that the colour position in the Free State is much more rigid than in Cape Town. Buses and bus stops are separate for European and Non-European and the subordination of the latter is quite obvious even in the streets.

It was, however, to Johannesburg that I turned to investigate the position and conditions of the urbanized African, and certainly no clearer picture could be sought.

I found Johannesburg a fascinating city, but again would not dream of claiming that in my ten days visit I had done more than scrape the surface of life in its environs. I had been told by many people that Johannesburg is an evil city, the African Chicago, whose depravity one can almost smell on entering. My impressions were entirely different. It is obviously true that a large number of people there regard money as their god, and the social life of the majority of the Europeans is clearly shallow, nervy and thoughtless. Yet I found great friendliness, and a widespread desire to discuss and argue on a much broader basis than anywhere else in the Union. There is a greater contact here with the rest of the world, and a good deal of scepticism about the fanatical dogmatism of the political and social thought of the country. It may be that I was lucky in meeting a selection of people with a wider outlook than the average, but if so I certainly found them more easily in Johannesburg than in any other part of the Union. For instance, I ate my first meal in this notorious city in the International Club, which presented to me one of the most surprising sights in the Union. I had been accustomed to visiting international clubs in Europe as a matter of course, but had not

thought that it would be possible for one to exist in this land of inter-racial conflict. Yet I found that, although no such institution exists in Cape Town, both Johannesburg and Durban have them. Nor is there any doubt about their international and inter-racial character. Here Africans, Indians, Coloureds and Europeans mix freely and unselfconsciously with each other, eat at the same tables and share the same settees.

The city has a fantastic history. In September 1886 gold was discovered in the main reef. Within twelve months people had rushed from all parts of the world and had set up every conceivable type of shelter whilst they feverishly dug and staked claims. By the end of the century, 100,000 people had settled in this area and the annual value of the gold output had risen from £81,045 to £15,141,376. Today its value is something like £100,000,000 a year.

What was most intriguing to my mind is the racial contact, which is here on a far greater scale than in any other part of the Union. According to the 1946 Census of Population, the city and its suburbs embrace 781,736 people, of whom only 338,880 are Europeans and, apart from the Non-European peoples characteristic of the Union, there are distinctive colonies of French, Portuguese, Greeks, Chinese and Italians. Although there are considerable populations of Indians and Coloureds, by far the greatest section of Non-Europeans in the city and its environs are the Natives, of whom it is estimated at least 500,000 are living in this area. Whereas in Cape Town the street scene is dominated by Europeans and Coloureds, here in Johannesburg it is the Native who is most noticeable, and throughout the area it is the direct white-black relationship which keeps the whole social and political scene continually simmering on the verge of eruption. The world now knows most of the South African racial problems from the constant riots which are regularly reported from this area in the world's news. It was my particular concern in visiting the city to see what I could of this problem, its causes and the reactions of different sections of the people towards it. Life amongst the sky-scraper buildings and never-ceasing scurry of the busy streets,

hotels and shops of Johannesburg could be very pleasant for the European and no doubt extends into the luxury suburbs, with their sporting and social clubs and excellent amenities, but my interest lay rather in the shacks and mud-built hovels of the shanty towns of Moroka, Alexandra Township, and Newclare, in the liquor brewing of the Bantu sports ground, the new housing schemes of Orlando and Coronation, the life of the mine worker, underground and in his compounds. During my brief visit to this exciting and exhilarating city it was to this darker side of its society that I turned my attention.

On the first day in Johannesburg we were fortunate to be introduced to an African who knew his way around the suburbs of the city and who volunteered to act as our guide. His name was Fred Thabede, and as he was a social worker he had a keen insight into the life and problems of the half million Natives who inhabit the environs of South Africa's biggest city.

Leaving the city through the Indian quarter, we travelled to the south-west and did a kind of circular tour through Vrededorp, West Dene, Sophiatown, Newlands, Newclare and Coronation. This trip takes one first through a mixed area inhabited by Coloureds, Indians and Natives, then into an exclusively white district, built mainly by Afrikaners who are comparatively newcomers to city life, into Sophiatown which is mixed again, past the Municipal Western Township, which is an area set apart by the municipality for Native habitation only, into the purely Coloured area of Sophiatown and then through the white district of Newlands into Newclare and finally up to the redbrick dwellings of the Coloured housing estate of Coronation. My first impression was that each of these areas is much better housed than a district such as Windermere, and that they provide some illustration of what Non-Europeans can do in the building of their own houses where they have a chance. It is true that many of the roads and streets in these places are unpaved, there is a good deal of litter about and very few of the houses would come up to the British council housing standard. Many of them are badly in need of repair and it is obvious that all of them are grossly overcrowded,

yet most of them have a stone or brick foundation and at least approximate to human dwellings.

A tremendous task of re-housing is clearly to be seen in these areas, but the main issue is rather that of the encroachment of white habitation on the Non-European areas. Just after leaving the city we stopped beside the main road and climbed a small brick covered hill when, looking across the valley, our guide pointed out a dusky grey road driving straight through the estate a little lower down. The road divides Westdene from Sophiatown and is the No-man's Land where so many riots begin. Later in the afternoon we drove down Hamilton Road which separates Newclare from Newlands and is another notorious riot area. In each case it appears that the white areas are largely inhabited by Afrikaners who have come into the city from the country with very little aptitude for business or commerce. They often seem to resent the development of Non-Europeans so close to their own areas and to covet the businesses built on the other side of the road. In spite of their dislike they often find it economic to shop in the Non-European areas and frequently, when in financial straits, sell their houses to Non-Europeans, thus allowing the neighbourhood to begin to develop a mixed character. There seems to be a widespread desire amongst Non-Europeans in this country to own property, and I was somewhat surprised to find that, even amongst Communists, this is considered to be a progressive desire. It is in such districts that the Group Areas Act has been welcomed and already the Europeans are preparing to take over those reasonably developed Non-European areas in their proximity.

In these districts where Europeans and Non-Europeans are close to each other there is a continual state of tension between the inhabitants, a volcano which may erupt from the most minute disturbance. Small insults are continually offered to Non-Europeans, minor details, such as the refusal of trams to stop for a Non-European, which irritate and affront the dignity and finally exasperate to the point at which violence breaks out. It was here, in February 1950, during riots caused by this type of incident,

that the Europeans came out of their houses into the streets armed with guns and threatened to take the law into their own hands.

The following day we had another guide, this time a man called Ncwana, who appeared to be very well known in Non-European circles and the leading spirit in the Moroka Township. He took us first to Orlando, which presents a most striking example of the extremes possible in Non-European urban housing. The better part of the town is built of small red brick houses, separated into Coloured and African quarters. They are tiny but look quite pleasant. One of the difficulties of living in this area must be the high cost of transport to work either by bus or train, and we were told that the train fare comes to at least 3/- a week. Here we were shown round the Donaldson Memorial Centre where very fine social work is being done. The Warden told us that the Centre is often open from five in the morning until four the next morning, and it was very clear that, to those interested in this scheme, great pride is felt in this, their show piece. An excellent hall, where children were playing deck tennis en masse, is surrounded by rooms for billiards, table tennis, draughts, and domestic science, but unfortunately the attempt to hold lectures here, which could be so significant, has not yet had much support.

From here we drove down the hill across wretched rutted earth roads to the station and eventually on to the main Pochefstroom road and so to one of the most significant scenes in this country.

After the war, thousands of homeless Non-European squatters settled down and organized their own shanty town on the outskirts of Orlando. Faced by this irregular army of inhabitants, the city council was forced to take some kind of action and eventually purchased land further out, about twelve miles from the city, and started the township of Moroka, where well over 50,000 people have since built their own huts. Driving up the hill one sees a stretch of barbed wire fencing half a mile long on the right and rising above it the dust and smoke of this vast mud-founded city. I was told that the barbed wire had only been placed there to prevent people from running out on to the road, but it has a

grim appearance which is further stressed by the sight of police at the gates and the necessity to produce a permit in order to enter. We, however, being with Mr Ncwana, did not apparently need any permit, the sight of him being assurance of our good intentions. He took us immediately again to the show piece of the place, the Memorial Health Centre, which tries to act as a focus for preventive and curative health measures to offset the appalling health conditions of the township. Then we were invited into one of the huts, which we were later told was one of the many shebeens in the area, though we were only offered tea and cakes. Here we got at first hand some idea of the type of life lived by this group of human beings.

Imagine a plot of ground twenty feet square. This is the allocation of land to each tenant of Moroka and for it he pays 10/- a month to the municipality. Having secured his tenancy, he next has the problem of finding the materials with which to build some form of shelter. Many different solutions have been found to this problem in Moroka. Some of the houses are still built of paraffin tins, wood, sacking and straw. Others have begun to invent their own form of brick making, using liquid mud as a base, mixing it with cow dung, when they can collect it, and leaving the bricks to harden in the sun. Corrugated iron is a luxury, but tin is quite normal. Every conceivable means of human ingenuity has been used to find some form of shelter. The house in which we had tea was divided into four rooms, each about five feet square and every detail of cooking, washing, eating and sleeping has to be carried on in this minute hovel.

The man in charge of the Clinic took me outside to show me some of the problems with which he is faced. Next door, a small infant, perhaps eighteen months old, was being held out by its mother to vomit. He told me that it had whooping-cough, but that its mother refused to take it to the Clinic because she believes that the only means of cure is to tie a key round its neck.

We walked down the uneven earthen road and watched a woman making her pile of mud bricks, whilst another, who had been trained in Basutoland, was weaving wool on a frame.

At the bottom of the path I was shown the drainage system, an appalling cement slab in the middle of the path, with two small grates in it and three long-stemmed taps. To this drain has to be carried, or is supposed to be carried, all dirty water, and clear water is carried back. Sanitation consists of corrugated-iron structures which may be anything up to a quarter of a mile from some of the homes. As we walked back through the gathering dusk, a group of women in bright blue and red costumes of some religious order came chanting down the street and I was told that one of the great problems in this area is to find some useful activity for the women during the day. A twenty foot square house hardly keeps them fully occupied.

Back in our friend's house we were shown the minutes of the Moroka Advisory Committee, which is mainly responsible for the conduct of the township. The intelligence and standard of organization shown in the conduct of this Committee was further emphasized a few days later when I returned to Moroka to give a lecture to their Literary Society. This consisted of about twenty people, mostly young men and women clerks and teachers, who, in spite of the sub-human conditions of their life, could yet take a most intelligent interest in international affairs and provide questions and discussion on a plane quite as high as that I am accustomed to meet in Britain.

We drove out of Moroka as the smoky haze rose from hundreds of primitive chimneys and open fires, and the laughing and chattering men debouched from their rattling buses through the dusk at the end of their day's work. It seemed difficult to believe that we were leaving one of the biggest suburbs of the Golden City, which must have produced as much of what man knows as wealth as any other city in the world, in the twentieth century.

Later in the week we drove through the hilly streets of Alexandra Township, just off the road to Pretoria, where a film company had just been making an all-Native film, *The Magic Garden*. Alexandra has achieved some notoriety from Alan Paton's book, *Cry the Beloved Country*, and for the action of its inhabitants, recorded in that book, in resisting an increase in transport charges

by a boycott of the buses. It is certainly extremely shoddy and slummy, but did not appear to me to be as appallingly low in the table of human misery as Moroka.

What is life like for the human beings who inhabit these sub-human dwellings? Two facts struck me in talking to the people and in walking round their primitive townships. The first is the fairly obvious one, that a large part of the existence of these people is taken up with the ceaseless endeavour to maintain an elementary hold on life itself. Conception is almost always a tragedy for the parents concerned and the effort required to pilot a child's life into adulthood in these surroundings is very frequently too much to expect from the human character. Consequently, large numbers of the children in these areas simply run wild and revolt against their environment by picking up habits of thieving and violence, either individually or in groups. Infant and child mortality is also at a very high rate and must remain so as long as superstition, dirt, and disease abound. It is common too for husbands to go to the towns on their own searching for work and this is officially encouraged by the policy of migratory labour. The consequences can only be the promotion of a wide incidence of prostitution and homosexuality, which are characteristics of all of these areas. The effort to maintain existence and the chance by which it is retained, lead logically therefore to the stimulation of every form of anti-social behaviour.

Yet whilst these are characteristics of such areas, one cannot fail to observe that community feeling which is present amongst the poor of all nations—the atmosphere of a common sharing of misery which seems to promote, in slum areas all over the world, a form of cheerfulness in adversity and neighbourliness in need which apparently contradict the characteristic behaviour of the inhabitants. That contradiction is resolved by the attitude of the neighbour who will assist in looking after the orphans of the man whom he has consistently robbed during life. Certainly, in spite of the grim realities of life in the shanty suburbs of Johannesburg, I saw more friendliness and apparent cheerfulness in these areas than I ever discovered in other parts of the city.

The second fact which impressed me was the terrible monotony of life in these districts, which may well have as great an evil effect upon the community as the physical difficulties which have to be overcome. Whilst the Europeans find it necessary to organize vast sporting entertainments, social life, cinemas, clubs and all the paraphernalia of urban distraction, there are in the sordid shanty towns no possibilities of even the most innocent form of recreation. It is true that in the city there is the Bantu Social and Welfare Centre and a sports ground, and there are one or two institutions such as the Memorial Centre in Orlando described above, but these simply do not touch the surface of the problem, particularly for the children and youths. In Moroka I was shown schools which had to be conducted on the ground in the open because there were neither buildings nor materials to be used. Whilst I was in the city, strong objections were being raised in certain European areas to the proximity of a Non-European recreation ground. The fact is obvious, that for the vast majority of Non-European children and youths, healthy recreational and sporting activities are completely absent. It is hardly surprising therefore, that all manner of perverted entertainments are organized in such areas, particularly after dark, through sheer frustration and the repression of natural healthy entertainment. This is so even more for the women and children than for the men, who do at least spend a large part of their time working in the city and have not to face to the same extent the drab monotony of life in these grim surroundings. The whole effect gives one the impression of one vast and complicated distortion of every genuine human emotion and mental activity.

It is not therefore unexpected to find that violence is common to these societies. In particular, that violence is directed against every form of law officer. All branches of the police are instinctively hated, for they represent the law of the European, imposed without consultation upon the slave. The appearance of the police in any of these areas is commonly accompanied by stone throwing attacks, significantly led by the children. Hundreds of incidents of this nature occur every year in different parts of the country

and are practical evidence of that running sore of the sense of injustice which pervades the whole Non-European community.

It is usually pinpricks which arouse such incidents, and they are largely centred on the attitude of the police in conducting their periodical pass raids. One morning I went down to the Pass Office in the city, where a long queue of Africans was waiting in the yard to apply for passes. This was simply one of the Pass Offices established to issue the first and most important of the urban passes, the Municipal Pass, giving permission to be in the city to look for work. Here hundreds of Africans from all over the country were assembled, some of them having their fingerprints taken, being questioned or simply waiting their turn which might or might not come that day. The pass issued gives permission to reside within the municipality for a few days to try to find a job, and those who are unsuccessful are supposed to leave the city, although many thousands manage to escape for a time at least. Passes are also issued for a whole series of other obligations, such as the right to work in certain employment, to be out after a certain time, to buy liquor and so on. The task of the police in trying to maintain such regulations is obviously impossible, but in order at least to make a gesture of accomplishing it, they periodically make raids on the various locations to examine such passes and to arrest those who are without them. As a consequence, thousands of Africans are continually passing through jail for such technical offences, which in itself spreads disrespect for the law and an emotion of injustice.

Consequently many of these pass raids culminate in riots between the exasperated inhabitants and the police, and it is no exaggeration to say that in these areas a running guerilla warfare is conducted between the Non-Europeans and the authorities. In one month alone, October 1950, there were 12,312 convictions of Natives for infringements of the Pass Laws.

When it is also realized that, according to the Penal Reform League of South Africa, fifty per cent of the Africans arrested are found not guilty and discharged, some idea of the enormous number of them who spend time in gaol may be gained, for the

law allows an arrested person to be detained for forty-eight hours, and it has been found that some Africans are often kept much longer before their trial.^[10]

One of the most dangerous and shocking aspects of the relationship between police and Non-Europeans is the treatment by the police of the people whom they have arrested. The Minister of Justice himself admitted in the House that, in a period of a little over two years, 347 policemen had been found guilty by the courts of assault, whilst a further 52 had been convicted departmentally. As it is obvious that by no means every case of assault comes before the courts, the actual number must be even higher. Yet the light sentences which are given for the most appalling of such assaults almost seem designed to encourage them. As an example, three European police sergeants at Tugela Ferry in Natal were found guilty of applying electric current to seven Africans, slapping their faces, throttling them, tying their limbs with rope, placing their handcuffed hands over their knees and inserting a stick over their arms and under their knees and forcing them to stand. The sentence imposed was £1 fine or seven days imprisonment.

Perhaps the worst case was that of Milton King, the West Indian seaman, who was assaulted by the police and died as a result. For the death of this man the policeman was found guilty of assault and fined £10. Thus is the cheapness with which South Africa holds the life of a Non-European exposed for the world to see. One wonders what would have been the attitude and the sentence demanded if a South African European had been killed by the police in the West Indies or the Gold Coast.

Another duty of the police is to prohibit the brewing of liquor. Some Coloureds, Indians and a few Africans are given permission to purchase a small quantity of liquor each week, but the vast majority of the Africans are forbidden to take any form of alcoholic liquor except that provided by the municipal beer houses. This prohibition is widely resented, particularly as many of the Africans have their own special methods of brewing beer and refuse to accept that provided by the municipality. Illicit brewing is

widespread and some of the concoctions which are brewed and sold might have been mixed by the Devil himself.

As this is one of the greatest problems of Non-European society, I sought and obtained permission to accompany the police on some of their liquor raids and to see for myself the problem at first hand. For this I was indebted to the kindness of the Police Commandant, who gave me the requisite facilities.

The first afternoon some misunderstanding had occurred and the police squad had already left when I arrived at the barracks. I was fortunate enough, however, to have the guidance of a head constable who took me round to the local municipal beer house to explain the basis of the problem to me. He was a very sincere man and had fitted himself for his part by learning to speak a number of the Native languages and was obviously known and respected amongst the groups of Natives that we encountered. He took me to the beer hall, which was a vast corrugated iron building with tremendous vats and long queues of Africans waiting with their tin mugs to purchase the beer, and introduced me to the supervisor. This Kaffir beer is a very good drink, having only a small percentage of alcohol in it and being mainly composed of grain and its extracts. I was told that it is very good for any form of stomach ailment and certainly, on tasting a cup, I found that it had an excellent flavour.

We left the beer hall and walked back to the barracks, where I was shown some of the very comfortable police quarters. The officer then procured a police van and driver and we drove round the large open waste space by the side of the Bantu sports ground, which is the centre of the illicit brewing of this neighbourhood. It was a Saturday afternoon in broad daylight, but dotted around the open space were small groups of people quite openly buying and selling the liquor. Some of them ran away on the appearance of the police van, but we kept on the outskirts of the square, for I was told that even in daylight the police dare not enter that ground unless at least fifteen strong and well armed. The head constable pointed out to me the proximity of the beer hall and explained that the usual procedure is for someone to go to the

hall and buy beer, carry it to the sports ground where various stimulants are added to it, and where it is then sold at high prices.

A few days later I met the Liquor Squad, which is specially appointed as a section of the police force to deal with this problem. I was to be in charge of a tough, red-faced old sergeant, who himself had partaken freely of some form of liquor, and who had quite a sense of humour. We piled into a truck and returned to the Bantu sports ground in daylight to dig out some of the tins of liquor which had been hidden underground for use later in the evening. Old paraffin tins are used for this purpose and the usual method is to dig tunnels well underground, plant the tins there, fill in the tunnel and leave it until after nightfall. The police are very skilful at banging on the ground with long rods, finding the hollow places and then digging the tins out, emptying them and smashing them up so that they cannot be used again. The liquor itself is a most foul concoction, composed of a basis of Kaffir beer, which has the appearance of dirty cocoa, to which has been added all manner of adulteration such as carbide, yeast, barbitone and similar stimulants. I was even shown a newspaper cutting which reported that on one of these raids a human arm had been discovered in one of the tins.

We left the sports ground and went to visit one of the shebeen queens in the district. Here the police quickly went round the back-yard, tipping over any tins of liquid they could find, banging on the walls and yard floor for any sign of hollowness and walking straight through the house to try to discover evidence. The woman herself tried to give the appearance of complete innocence, in a semi-humorous manner, and the police told me that one of the big difficulties of this kind of case is that no arrest can be made unless the person is actually in possession of the liquor itself. Even the fact that it is being brewed on the premises is not an offence against the law.

After a cup of coffee in the police barracks and a glass of beer in the sergeants' mess, we moved off again in the police truck, now through the darkness. This time there were considerable crowds on the sports ground who ran in panic as soon as the

police were seen. The headlights of the van were used to try to pick them up but, though the police gave chase, no one was actually caught in possession. However, this time there were still more tins on small fires kindled all over the ground, as well as dozens of loaves of bread, boxes of malt and yeast, sugar and pineapples, which were taken back to the barracks in the van. We returned to the house of the shebeen queen where by this time a crowd of people were sitting round the fire in a hut in the yard. They also fled from the blows of the police whilst the tins were overturned into the fire, but, once again, the queen herself expressed complete ignorance of what was going on. We made another raid in the Coloured area of Fereiratown where liquor was being brewed in a small waste dump between a number of houses and a fire was even kindled on the pavement. Once again, the story was the same, a number of heads being knocked about whilst the police were jeered by crowds of interested spectators.

This problem of illicit liquor is very serious indeed, for those who brew and sell the stuff are clearly making a profit, and usually a very high profit, out of the degradation of fellow human beings. I felt some sympathy with the police allocated to this thankless task, yet there can be no doubt that the problem will remain, as it has done in every other prohibition country, so long as the freedom to purchase drink is denied. On the other hand, it is equally obvious that to give this full liberty at the moment would mean even more widespread drunkenness and violence. The society has caught itself in a cleft stick and there seems to be no immediate way out, yet all the time these police raids, the arbitrary entry into one's property, the searches and destruction of possessions and the violation of human dignity, is continually exacerbating the relations between the law and the Non-European. Once again we are bound to come to the conclusion that without that confidence which is based upon a feeling of equality in dignity, the dangers of this terrible problem will continue to be aggravated.

As the Penal Reform Commission suggested in 1947, the problem of Native crime cannot be divorced from social and economic conditions. Its recommendations are worth recalling:

Means should be devised to ensure that urban Natives will become decent and law-abiding members of society. Measures to this end would be the provision of homes for the workers with reasonable means of access to their work; the bringing of wages into closer relationship with the cost of living; the establishment of community or people's centres; the introduction of means of the better and more wholesome employment of leisure; the extension of adult education; the establishment of creches and nursery schools.

The majority of the thousands of Africans who flock into Johannesburg come there in order to work in the mines. All over the Native districts, and in the Protectorates as well, the mine companies keep recruiting agents who sign on able-bodied men for periods of up to twelve months to perform the heavy and dangerous labour of extracting the metal from the bowels of the earth. I was fortunate to secure permission to visit one of the mines and so to have personal evidence of the kind of life and work of these communities. The most common and characteristic sight in Johannesburg is, of course, the vast pale yellow dumps of sediment which mark the heart of the prosperity of the city, but the mine which I visited was outside the city, near Brakpan, in the east Rand. The company certainly treated us very well, providing a bus which took us from the city in the early hours of the morning past the pleasant racecourse of Turfontein, where the horses were already being given their morning exercise, and so to the company's offices themselves. Here we put on rubber coats and sou'westers and went with a small party of guides to the minehead. For ten minutes or so it was an interesting experience to watch the Native workers under their boss boys going down the shaft, absolutely expressionless and hardly even bothering to talk to each other. I know something of the coal mines and have been underground there, but the big difference which I found here was the great heat and the white-washing of the tunnels. We saw a lot of old workings, the gold strain in the rock, and the gangs of Native workers covered with sweat with the exertion in this heat. We were taken right through the mills and saw the whole process of washing and sifting.

But what most interested me was the visit to the compound

where the Native workers live. We were shown through the kitchens, the beer house, hospital and recreation rooms, and got the impression, which we were no doubt intended to receive, of the excellent way in which the bodies of the workers are preserved. But, going a little deeper, one finds a somewhat different picture. In the first place, the Native worker is paid an average of £3 to £4 a month plus his food and keep, whereas the European received over the same period between £70 to £120. It is true, of course, that the European has much greater training and responsibility, but the Native worker can never attain such training, and this difference of income fully represents that difference of social status between Europeans and Native workers. I have no doubt that their bodies are reasonably well cared for, because, after all, they represent property, but the general attitude is very much that of caring for the wellbeing of the pit pony.

It is important, too, to note that an effort is made to arrange the compounds on a tribal basis and thus to preserve the tribal structure of the Native Reserves. So long as this structure is retained, superstition and ignorance will continue, and, of course, the Native will be more easily governed through the control of his chief, who is dependent on the Government.

The compound over which we were shown was clearly a show piece and it was obvious that care was taken to see that we only went where we were directed. This was particularly so when visiting one of the sleeping rooms which are arranged around the broad square. About twenty men sleep in each of these rooms in bunk fashion, and the one that we were shown was spotlessly clean and quite nicely furnished. But I had also seen some of the dormitories in a compound which we had visited when going to watch the Sunday morning tribal dances, and our show dormitory was by no means typical of what I had seen there. The overcrowding was clearly evident so that there was not even a concrete bunk for each of the inhabitants and many were sleeping on the floor.

Yet these are only details. The fundamental character of the compound is evidenced by the fact that life here is regulated

entirely by the Manager. To leave the compound a pass must be obtained, and I noticed that the centre of the vast square held large poles on which searchlights were fixed, in much the same manner as in a prison yard. The bodies and minds of the Native mine workers are completely disciplined during their service of contract, and they almost become the slaves of the mine company. They are segregated not only from their fellow workers in the towns, but from their wives and families, for twelve months at a time, and it needs little imagination to realize the widely-accepted fact that these compounds are hotbeds of homosexuality.

As I left the mine I remembered that Dr Donges had told me that the object of the Group Areas Act was to organize the urban life of the country on the same basis as that of the mine compound.

Whilst we were in Johannesburg I had hoped to meet Dr J. S. Moroka, President of the African National Congress, but unfortunately I missed him. However, I met a number of the leading members of the Congress and also Dr Dadoo of the Indian National Congress, and we had long discussions on the organization and feelings of the Non-Europeans. In particular, there was a clear feeling amongst the Non-European leaders that the demonstrations on the Rand of May 1st, 1950, and the national general strike of June 26th of the same year, mark very great advances in the forging of unity between the different Non-European groups. It was widely felt that the Nationalist Government is achieving what the Non-European leaders of the past fifty years have failed to gain, the creation of a united policy between the different sections of Non-Europeans. The policy of Apartheid is completely rejected, as indeed is any policy which has not been discussed on a basis of equality with the Non-European organizations, and there is a feeling in the air that the unity which is being forged in this opposition will sooner or later result in a complete showdown between European and Non-European. For the time being it is agreed that the only weapon in the hands of the Non-European is the withdrawal of labour, and June 26th has shown the possibilities in this direction. The fact that South African society depends so vitally upon the labour of the

Non-Europeans gives this strike weapon a considerable significance, though it is widely recognized that long and bitter struggles with a great deal of suffering will be entailed before any positive success can be achieved.

When in Johannesburg a year later, in 1951, I was frankly surprised to find that organizationally the movement for Non-European unity had not advanced as might be expected. I met Mr Sissulu, the General Secretary of the African National Congress, a slight, sharp and very intelligent man, who told me of a joint conference held in the city on July 31st, to try and plan a Non-European campaign against the increasing number of discriminatory laws. It was attended by the executive committees of the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress and some members of the Franchise Action Committee. Once again the absence of real representation of the Coloured people was a limiting factor, for, though this latter organization was set up to fight the Separate Representation of Voters Bill, it could not claim to represent the Coloured people. The A.P.O. had been invited, but declined the invitation.

The conference declared its conviction that all people of South Africa, irrespective of race, colour or creed, have an inalienable and fundamental right to participate directly in the governing councils of the state. They said that the rising tide of Nationalist oppression had reached unbearable limits, especially against the non-white people. A resolution passed by the conference declared:

The brutal enforcement of the inhuman and enslaving pass laws, and the further impoverishment of the African people by the policy of stock limitation and so called rehabilitation schemes, and also recent legislation such as the Group Areas Act, Separate Representation of Voters Act, Suppression of Communism Act and Bantu Authorities Act have caused untold misery and bitter resentment among the non-white peoples of South Africa.

The Nationalist Government, in its mad desire to enforce Apartheid, has at every opportunity incited the people to racial strife and has attempted to crush their legitimate protests by ruthless police action. It is perhaps significant to note also that in welcoming the delegates, Dr Moroka, the President-General of the African

National Congress, went out of his way to stress the desire for racial co-operation. He said, 'It is my contention that no matter where a man comes from, if he has made South Africa his home, then he is a South African. We want to live in co-operation with all in this country.'

Mr Sissulu naturally did not want to reveal to me what were to be the methods of the campaign but said that they would be decided at the conferences of the African National Congress and the Indian Congress to be held in December.

On December 17th, the African National Congress met in Bloemfontein and accepted the report of the Joint Planning Council which had been set up by the July conference. This called for the repeal, by the end of February, of all discriminatory legislation. It was obvious, of course, that the Government would not heed this demand, and therefore a call has been made for a mass campaign of passive resistance to begin on April 6th, 1952—significantly the very day on which the celebrations to commemorate the tercentenary of Jan van Riebeeck's arrival at the Cape are to be opened. This passive resistance campaign will take the form of 'Committing breaches of certain laws and regulations which are undemocratic, unjust, racially discriminatory and repugnant to the natural rights of man.' The Congress declared that, 'Rather than submit to these unjust laws, those taking part in the mass action will defy them deliberately and in an organized manner and will be prepared to bear the penalties.' The Africans will concentrate on breaking Pass Laws, whilst it is suggested that the Indians and Coloureds cross provincial frontiers, in defiance of the law, break the Apartheid regulations in trains, post offices, railway stations, and deliberately infringe the Group Areas Act.^[11]

This is probably the most serious attempt yet made to co-ordinate the Non-European groups in a deliberate effort to take active measures of opposition against the maintenance of the white monopoly of power. The extent to which the leaders will secure support from the masses, the strength of their discipline in confining the movement to non-violence, the inter-racial solidarity

amongst the different Non-European groups, the reactions of the Government and its police force towards this movement—all these are vital factors yet to be determined. But the fact that this attempt to make passive war upon European power and the policy of segregation is to be made at the very time that the European community will be in the throes of the national emotions of the tercentenary celebrations, makes it appear certain that further bitter battles are imminent.

At the same time, it was clear from conversations with other members of the African Congress that not all its members are agreed upon this action. Some of them believe that the Congress is an essentially African organization and that its present leaders are prejudicing that position by associating too closely with the Indians and Coloureds. There is also some objection taken to the inclusion amongst its leaders of men 'named' under the Suppression of Communism Act and a fear that this may bring disrepute upon the organization.

On my first visit I met Mr Makabeni, President of the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions, who explained to me some of the difficulties entailed in the organization of trade unions of Non-Europeans. As is the case amongst most inexperienced and under-developed people, the trade union movement is very spasmodic, and membership varies considerably from time to time. Financial and organizational difficulties are tremendous, particularly as Non-European trade unions are not recognized and their organizers are not allowed in the mine compounds. Nevertheless, although a national council had not yet been formed in the country, each Province has its own council, with that of the Transvaal the strongest, having about forty unions affiliated, representing something over fifty thousand members. In the late 1920s the British Trade Union Congress gave assistance in organization to the Non-European unions of South Africa and it is felt that further assistance could well be given from the international trade union movement at the present time.

It is significant that the first prosecutions under the Suppression of Communism Act were taken against African trade unionists

and that the Pass Laws are also being used against them. Shortly before I met Mr Makebeni for the second time, in 1951, the police had raided his office and taken him, his young schoolboy brother and a part-time union official out to police cars. Mr Makabeni, secured the release of the other two, but he was taken to the police station and charged with not having a pass. He was refused bail, twice stripped for searching, measured and investigated for body marks, and had to sleep in a long corridor with rows of other prisoners awaiting trial. Next day he was fined £1 for not having a proper pass and endorsed out of the urban area of Johannesburg for two years. This endorsement was cancelled by the Chief Native Commissioner, but the union was ordered to pay £24 as the monthly registration fee for the entire period, since 1931, that he had carried no pass. The powers of the police to interfere with and destroy the work of African trade unions could not have been more clearly demonstrated.

I left Johannesburg to see and meet the Africans in the Reserves with the conviction that the friction between the races in urban areas was increasing rather than decreasing, and that the economic needs of European society were clearly rendering the policy of Apartheid purely academic. The only solution proposed for planning the relations of Europeans and Non-Europeans in the towns, and even the Nationalists now agree that there must be Non-Europeans in the towns, is that outlined by the Group Areas Act. That this is built upon a conception of inequality is not denied, and it must therefore produce even greater racial hostility and strife.

This impression was confirmed when I was in the city in 1951. Just before my visit the tension of its inhabitants had been rapidly heightened by the revelations made about the tremendous increase in crime, particularly crime accompanied by violence. An article on this subject in the American magazine *Time* had caused the issue of this periodical to be held up by the censors, yet, at the same time, magistrates and judges had made equally sensational exposures of the increasing crime rate. As has already been pointed out, crime is a social disease, reflecting social disorders and political

and economic discontent. The tremendous rise in the cost of living has undoubtedly hit the urban African worker harder than any other section of the community. According to a survey carried out by the Institute of Race Relations, the average monthly family income for Africans in 1950 was £12 18s. 8d., whereas minimum family expenditure was estimated at £17 14s. 4d., leaving a monthly deficit of £4 15s. 8d. There could hardly be a clearer incentive to crime.

In the towns all forms of tribal authority and traditional behaviour have been left behind. Yet the law is a white man's law, made and operated for the white man. Poverty, lack of social and recreational activities, and a sense of injustice are the influence on which each successive generation is reared. The results are inevitable and, as more and more labour is demanded by the nation's economy, so will those results become intensified. The problem of African urbanization in the present racial framework is, indeed, as explosive as the conditions of the people of Paris and St Petersburg before 1789 and 1917.

CHAPTER TEN

THE NATIVE AFRICAN AND HIS POLITICS

IT HAS OFTEN been said that 'All Union politics are Native politics', and it is obvious that, as the Natives form two-thirds of the total population, their affairs are bound to be of constant significance. The Africans or Natives in the Union are commonly known as the Bantu, but this more properly describes a group of languages than peoples. They are formed from a number of tribes who came to South Africa only slightly before the Europeans, mainly from East and Central Africa. The areas which they occupied consisted of the whole of Basutoland, British Bechuana-land and present day South Africa, with the exception of the Western Cape Province, but eventually all these lands were conquered by the Europeans. Part of the conquered land became the property of the European farmers, whilst certain small sections were left as Bantu Reserves. The pattern of land ownership varied in the different colonies, but generally the tribal form of land tenure, which formed the Bantu tradition, continued after the European conquest.

With the coming of the union of 1910 it was clearly necessary to make some kind of definition of the Natives' rights of occupation in the whole country and, with this intention, a Natives' Land Act was passed in 1913 demarcating the Reserves and prohibiting any transfer of land even to Europeans, whilst the Natives were forbidden to purchase land outside the Reserves, except in the Cape Province. As defined by the 1913 Act the Native Reserves consisted in that year of 7.3 per cent of the total area of the country and this allocation was hardly changed before 1936. It should also be pointed out that, with one or two exceptions, the Reserves consisted of the less fertile land, the better land having been taken by the European farmers.

The overcrowding, overstocking and primitive methods of agriculture employed in the Reserves led to widespread soil

erosion and a reduction of productivity and, in consequence, General Hertzog's administration introduced in 1936 a Native Trust and Land Act, which attempted to effect a permanent settlement of the division of land between white and Native. The Land Act earmarked 7,250,000 morgen to be transferred ultimately to the Native Reserves and Parliament promised to vote £10,000,000 for its purchase over a period of ten years. A further provision of the Act abolished the right of Natives in the Cape Province to purchase land outside the Reserves, thus extending this prohibition to the entire country. When the whole of this allocation is purchased, the Reserves will consist of about 17,500,000 morgen, comprising 12.4 per cent of the total area of the Union, but, up to April 1950, only 4,244,533 morgen had actually been purchased in the fourteen years since the Act was passed.

There are several Reserves in the Union, but I had only time to visit two of them. However, as these were the largest, and I spent some time in travelling through them, I felt that I had at least seen something of the life of Africans in the Reserve pattern.

I drove from Durban down the south coast road to Port Shepstone and there turned inland into the hills. The coast drive is truly delightful, every turn of the road revealing a new bay or silver white beach, with the glittering waves breaking at least a mile from the shore. At one moment we were amongst the softly folding hills which characterize Natal, the next amongst the sugar plantations, the fields filled with Indian workers, then again down beside the sea shore itself.

But turning into the hills through Port Shepstone we were soon away from the holiday resort atmosphere of the coast and for several days we saw practically no Europeans. Crossing the Natal-Cape border at Webster's Drift, on the banks of the Umtavuna River, we drove right into the heart of Pondoland, using narrow rocky roads, covered with loose stones and driving up and down precipitous heights with magnificent views of valleys and peaks, in order to get right into the depths of the African habitations. Then, after passing through the little village of Bizana, we made

the terribly steep climb to Brooksnek, joining the national road from Kokstad well over five thousand feet above sea level. From here, still amongst purely Native country, we made for Umtata, the capital of the United Transkeian Territories, and a white oasis in the middle of these vast black spaces, and passed into Tembuland. We continued westward through the mighty Kei Valley, one of the most spectacular sights of this country, where a dozen mountains are torn by deep valleys, with that of the River Kei dominating all others and dividing the Transkei from the Ciskei. So on through this second Reserve to Kingwilliamstown, Middle-drift and Alice, this latter town being noteworthy for the fact that it possesses the Non-European University College, Fort Hare.

During the whole of this journey I made a deliberate attempt to project myself into the life, the habits, and the minds of the Native African. There was no necessity to come into contact with Europeans, for only a handful live in the Reserves. All my time was spent with the Africans, and, if the time was short to make any intensive study, at least I could see their way of life, note the kind of land on which they depend for their existence, their reactions to the strange visitor amongst them, and generally form some impression of life in a Native Reserve.

At night one could always hear their strange cries and songs carrying across the hills and wide plain. Often some of them, more curious and bold than their fellows, would come up to the car where supper was cooking and beg for food. Anything is welcome to them, whether it be chocolates by the wayside during the day, or bread and tinned sausages from supper under the deep inky blackness of the country night. Some would boldly come and talk, though usually in difficult pidgin English, whilst others had to be tempted to approach by the sight of a present of food. The children, mostly naked and frequently with the unsightly distended stomach of under-nourishment, were always fearless, and it was difficult to stop in any inhabited place without being surrounded by them begging for food. On one occasion, beside the bridge crossing the Umtata River, I gave an impromptu and unintended entertainment to a large crowd of men, women, and

children by removing two days' growth of beard and putting on some clean clothes. Apparently my performance was approved, for the audience sat round in an interested circle until I had completed my toilet. Modesty was uncommon, and many of the women walked and worked in the fields naked to the waist, but I noticed that some of the younger ones had picked up European ideas of modesty from somewhere, for they pulled their blankets round them on my approach.

Except on Sunday, the universal dress for both men and women is a russet-coloured blanket, but Sundays bring forth many hued and exceedingly beautiful tribal dress and ornaments. Usually the women walking along the roads are carrying heavy loads in baskets or boxes balanced with wonderful deportment on their heads, and many of them smoke long wooden pipes. Their hair is always long and curled and covered, like their faces, in red clay.

The almost universal habitation is known as a rondavel, a circular hut made out of dried mud bricks, with a conical thatched roof and usually white-washed to half-way up its walls. Windows and doors do not exist, and the interior is undivided, being simply the hard earth floor, with cooking utensils hung round the walls and sleeping mats and blankets laid on each side of the opening. Fires are normally lit outside, where the cooking is done, with the family gathered round in the evenings. Looking across the vast plains of the Transkei it seems that the veld carpet is dotted with thousands of small pin-heads, clustered together where there are villages, or spread haphazardly across to the horizon. It seemed that on the route we took the huts of the Ciskei were of poorer quality than those of the Transkei, many of them being little more than mud shelters and most of them lacking the attractive white-washing seen in the neighbouring Reserve.

Sometimes we would stop to watch a Native cattle market, held in the early morning, after the cattle had been brought across the hillsides with a great confusion of shouting and argument. At others we would stop at a village mission school, where practically the only form of education available in the area was offered,

usually in miserably poor conditions, and obviously completely inadequate for the needs of the vast population. On one occasion we attended a village tribal meeting, held in the open with the men sitting in a circle and their horses tethered behind the group of rondavels. Great excitement was caused when I produced a camera, and scores of men, women and children rushed across the hillside to have their photographs taken.

The countryside itself shows the most appalling evidence of the dangerous evil of soil erosion, the steep hillside being deeply scarred with dongas, or deep channels caused by heavy rain. The fields are all divided into small plots, entirely unfenced and of such a small size that it is doubtful whether, even with modern agricultural methods, they could supply a single family. But modern agricultural methods are unknown in this countryside, and there is apparently little knowledge that extends beyond scratching the mere surface of the soil with primitive tools. It was the winter season when I was there and the maize crop had already been gathered, leaving the remaining stalks to be eaten by cattle and sheep. In the fields it was women and children who worked, and very rarely did we see an able-bodied man. Old people, women and children are in the majority in the Reserves, for most of the men are away in the mines and towns.

Yet in spite of the terrible hardness of life in these largely barren areas, no one could wish for a more cheerful and friendly welcome. Everyone smiled and waved to us. On a Saturday morning buses of all shapes and sizes, many windowless, clattered by, raising clouds of dust, crammed full of laughing, joking black faces, and never did we fail to find an open welcome. Although it would not have been too difficult to pilfer our belongings, particularly when parked for the night miles away from the police and any European habitation, there was never the slightest attempt to interfere or molest us in any way. Often a black face would appear silently beside the car at night, but always it was food, or curiosity, and a talk, that brought our visitors. Yet, in spite of all this good humour and friendliness, there is a deep shadow over these great Reserves. Part is caused by the rapidly increasing

poverty of the land, to be seen in hungry faces and bloated bellies. The other part is the absence of the young men, hundreds of miles away in the bowels of the Reef, or lonely and drifting into crime and misery in the horrible shanty towns around the great industrial cities.

Over the last thirty years there has been a continual and increasing drift of people of all races from the country to the town, as the South African industrial revolution has progressed. For instance, between 1921 and 1946, the percentage of the European population in rural areas decreased from 44.22 per cent to 27.54 per cent, whilst that of Natives showed a decrease from 87.50 per cent to 77.01 per cent. In spite of this drift, however, the actual numbers in the Reserves have increased, with the steady increase in the population, and there were, in 1946, 3,106,000 Natives living in the Reserves, or 39.9 per cent of the Native population.

The problem is complicated and most of the political policies adopted towards it have only increased its complications. The towns have attracted and demanded Native labour for the expansion of their industries, and today there is little unemployment amongst the Natives in the towns. Yet the rapid increase of the urban Native population—94.48 per cent between 1921 and 1936 and 57.16 per cent between 1936 and 1946—has resulted in the fact that there are today more than one and a quarter million more Natives living in the towns than thirty years ago. The descriptions given above of the Native townships surrounding all the cities of the Union are tragic evidence of the inability of municipal or national administration to deal seriously or adequately with the tremendous social problems thus raised.

But the demands of industry have not only created the tremendous problems of an urban Native population, but have greatly aggravated the difficulties within the Reserves themselves. Although there has been a considerable increase in the number of Native women living in the urban areas, an increase from 150,000 in 1921 to 640,000 in 1946, indicating a corresponding increase in the settled Native population of the towns, the vast majority of

Natives who have left the country for the towns are still men. Thus in the Reserves only 42 per cent of the population is male and on the farms only 48.5 per cent. In other areas, mainly composed of urban areas and mine compounds, 70 per cent of the population consists of males. According to the sixth census, 397,000 African males were absent from their homes in the Native Reserves.

The social problems consequent upon this large surplus of males over females within the towns are obvious, but of equal importance is the consequent lack of able-bodied men within the Reserves. The reason for this phenomenon is the fact that the majority of Natives recruited for work in the towns are able-bodied men, signed under contract for a specific period, whilst the majority of those who seek work independently in the towns are similar men who do not normally take their wives and families with them, as there is very little chance of finding a home. This naturally leads to a scarcity of efficient labour within the Reserves and aggravates the lack of productivity within these areas, which is itself one of the main economic causes driving the Natives into the towns. Of the families at present living within the Transkei and the Ciskei, one-third own no land and almost all those with land find it inadequate to support their families. They therefore go to the towns to try and increase the family income, thereby still further lessening the possibility of making the Reserves self-supporting. I was told, when in Grahamstown, by members of a Field Research Unit who had been investigating household incomes in the Ciskei, that the annual income of a household might vary from £5 to £350, and that the variations would depend almost entirely upon the number of men within the household working in a town. The same people told me that one of the clearest pieces of evidence showing the lack of self-sufficiency within the Reserves, was the fact that more than 50 per cent of the purchases within the shops of the area were composed of foodstuffs; this, in spite of the fact that the Reserves are supposed to be agricultural areas.

A further impetus to the increasing urbanization of the Native

population is, of course, the necessity to obtain cash in order to pay the many taxes, fees and dues with which the Native population is burdened.

The general result of this process can be seen in the rapid decline in production throughout the main Reserves over the last thirty years. For example, whilst, during the period 1921-30, Native production of maize averaged 640,000,000 lbs., from 1931 to 1939 that average had fallen to 490,000,000 lbs. and it is reported that in the Transkei the production of maize and kaffir corn declined by about 25 per cent during the last decade before the war.

Generally speaking, the European attitude, whether under the United Party Government or under the Nationalists, has been to endeavour to tighten up the regulations allowing Natives to enter the towns. There has been a constant extension of the Pass Laws and of labour service contracts. The railways were given powers to refuse tickets to Natives who had not got a permit. The municipalities have been urged to extend their examination of passes and to deport from their precincts every Native who was not essential to industry within their area. The policy has entirely failed, not only because of the administrative difficulties, but because of the demands of expanding industry. The Europeans cannot have it both ways, although they have tried to do so. If they wish to build a sound economic system and to maintain their standard of life they must expand their industrial economy, and that requires a large industrial working class. In the present circumstances of South African life, this can only come from the Natives, yet to secure this aim involves a progressive increase in the settled urban Native population. The consequence of this conflict has been to inflame racial antagonism and thus to hinder industrial and social progress, whilst at the same time any corresponding settlement of healthy, rural communities has been rendered equally impossible.

The position of the present Government is particularly difficult in this respect because this essential contradiction between political and economic policy has been intensely aggravated by the

determination of the Nationalists to organize a rigid system of Apartheid. The Government was eventually forced to recognize this when, in 1950, both the Prime Minister and the Minister of Native Affairs confessed that they regarded the retention of an urban Native proletariat as essential for the economic wellbeing of the country. Yet this, of course, makes nonsense of their policy of total segregation, and exposes quite clearly the hypocrisy of their claim to settle all Natives in the Reserves and to give them freedom there to develop their own way of life. In particular, the effort of the Government to preserve the anachronistic tribal organization of the Native population is obviously contradicted by the whole system of migratory labour, which removes a large proportion of the able-bodied men from the tribe for long periods each year. In any case, the preservation of tribalism must surely hinder any social progress of the Natives, whether it be in towns or in their own Reserves, and seems to have little purpose other than dividing the Native population amongst itself and thus delaying the growth of African nationalism.

It is true that this and other Governments have made efforts to reduce the number of cattle within the Reserves and thus relieve somewhat the overcrowding of these areas; whilst agricultural colleges have been set up to train Native administrators in modern agricultural methods. Yet both these policies have completely broken down on the one big issue of consultation and co-operation between Government and Native. The culling of cattle has aroused widespread opposition because it has been done without any form of consultation and, like so many other potentially constructive European efforts to better Non-European life, has been imposed upon the Natives instead of being organized in co-operation with them. Because of this failure, the trained Native administrators are hardly used and they find employment outside their own particular training. The spontaneous Native reaction to such efforts by the Government is a sullen and sometimes violent opposition to what they see as an attempt to reduce their wealth, whilst they see little evidence of a serious expansion of their Reserves to provide their large population with the means of living.

Much of this opposition is spontaneous, local and unorganized, but it provides the basis for the rapid growth of Native political organization which is being stimulated by the present Government's policy of Apartheid. The fury created by the operation of the Pass Laws in the towns and by the culling of cattle and imposition of taxes in the rural areas provides fertile ground for political organization.

The main political organization of the Natives is the African National Congress, which was formed in 1912 to fight for the extension of political rights to the Africans. According to its Constitution, it aims to unite all Africans by finding a common ground between all tribes, and by educating the Africans politically. It claims the right of the franchise for Africans and their participation in the building of a national policy acceptable to all sections of the population, and suggests that Africans should be represented in all departments of the Government. It aims also at improving the living and working conditions of the Africans, the establishment of their right to skilled training, to trade and to organize trade unions. It demands that Africans become eligible to enjoy the benefits of social welfare, pensions, hospital and health facilities; it claims the right of Africans to adequate land and to ownership and occupation of such land; it aims to abolish the system of Pass Laws, permits and discriminatory taxation and legal restrictions, and at achieving equality within the educational system.

The African National Congress is composed entirely of Natives and is organized in four provincial conferences, with an annual national congress. As has been indicated above, it is now working more closely than ever before with other Non-European organizations, and particularly with the Indian National Congress, and has taken a leading part in the organization of united opposition movements against the policy of the present Government.

The All-African Convention is a much younger body, formed in 1935, with the specific purpose of fighting the Native Bills, which in the following year became law. Its object was to unite all Africans from every sphere and organization, including not

only political bodies, but religious, educational, economic and social organizations. In such unity it hoped to create the means of developing the political and economic power of the African peoples. It is a federal body and, in bringing together different sections of the African community, it today concentrates upon demonstrating the necessity for Non-European unity. Although most of its membership is composed of African organizations, it is not confined to Natives and includes a number of Coloured organizations, the strongest being in the Cape Province.

There are a number of smaller and less important organizations amongst the Natives, like the Cape African Voters' Association and the Cape African Teachers' Association, but perhaps the most significant of these is that known as the Transkeian Organized Bodies. This is an attempt to organize the Natives of the Reserves in their own districts and may well make an important contribution in the future to the co-operation of urban and rural political organizations amongst the Native population.

As amongst the Coloured organizations, there has been some conflict of opinion about the attitude to be adopted amongst African political organizations towards the different facets of European policy. This has been particularly concentrated upon the policy which should be pursued towards the Native Representative Council. This was set up in 1936 as a form of compensation for the loss of the Africans in the Cape of their franchise rights on the common electoral roll. It became increasingly obvious that the Council was only regarded by the Government as a debating chamber, without any powers and without any real function as a consultative body. The attempt to boycott elections to the Council and the opposition within the Council itself has steadily grown and, on a number of occasions from 1946 onwards, it has adjourned *sine die* as a form of protest. From January 1949 until December 1950 it did not meet at all and when it was eventually called together and addressed by the new Minister for Native Affairs, Dr Verwoerd, it again adjourned because of the refusal of its Chairman, the Secretary for Native Affairs, Dr Eiselen, to permit discussion of the Minister's statement on the

Government's policy of Apartheid. There seems to be little doubt that the leading members of the Council, particularly Dr Moroka, President of the African National Congress and Professor Z. N. Matthews from Fort Hare, are completely disillusioned of the possibility of the Council ever becoming an active influence in representing the interests of the Native peoples and the Government itself has announced that it no longer regards the Council as representative of the Native peoples. Incidentally, both these African leaders resigned from the Council after its abortive 1950 session.

Now, of course, through the passing of the Bantu Authorities Act, the Native Representative Council has been abolished. The Government has apparently decided to rely on controlled tribalism to maintain its influence over the Africans, and has therefore broken the undertaking given to them in 1936, when the Cape Native franchise was abolished. The key point in the Bantu Authorities Act is the fact that members of the Regional Authorities which are to be instituted are to be 'chosen', whilst the Minister of Native Affairs will have the power to cancel the appointment of any member. In other words, these new tribal authorities will be practically Government sub-departments, controlled entirely as the Government wishes. They cannot be classed as 'representative' of the African Native in any way and will close another door on the expression of the ideas and aspirations of the educated section of Africans, who will hardly be acceptable to the Government in view of their obvious belief in a greater degree of self-government.

What is inevitable in this policy is that it is the mainly conservative and backward chiefs and headmen who will have their power reinforced by the Government. Tribalism itself is a stagnating influence, and though it has largely been broken down in South Africa by the forces of modern life, there are still some African leaders who would like the chance to maintain or resurrect their own powers. These are the men who will be encouraged by the Government, for they are the only Africans who have a vested interest in preserving or attempting to restore tribalism. Tribalism as it originally existed cannot be restored, for once the structure

cracks the taboos and inhibitions on which it rests cannot be re-created. But this attempted restoration will certainly have the effect of retarding the progress of the African people towards an educated and rational outlook on life, and that will certainly assist the Government in maintaining its control and postponing the rise of a unified African political movement.

It is in this measure that we can perhaps see the beginnings of the policy outlined by Dr Verwoerd since he became Minister of Native Affairs. In a speech to the Senate in May 1951 he expressly denied that the Government intended to work towards a 'Bantustan'. They hoped to create a number of self-managing areas scattered throughout the country, but White South Africa would be the State, with Natives represented in the Senate but not in the House of Assembly. The Government, he said, visualized that in fifty years' time six million whites and between five and eight million Natives would live in urban and rural areas, whilst fourteen million Natives would be in the Reserves. So much for the idealistic conception of Apartheid.

The attitude of the Natives who have any political consciousness, like that of all other sections of educated Non-European opinion, is a total rejection of the conception of white supremacy, which is the underlying motive of all European policy. In particular, they completely reject the policy of Apartheid, whether it be in its total or partial form. They claim that the European argues falsely when he suggests that modern South Africa has been built by the Europeans, and claim that the Non-European has played an essential part in the creation of the South African nation. They point out that, without Non-European labour, the building of the nation would have been impossible, and they demand the right to share fully in the enjoyment of its amenities. They reject the conception that the urban areas of the country shall be allocated to the Europeans whilst the Non-Europeans are excluded from their facilities and herded together in the unproductive Reserves.

Moreover they suggest that what is known as Western civilization is by no means confined to Europeans and that, indeed, in

many respects, the educated and cultured Non-European is far closer to Western civilization than the majority of Europeans. They point out with asperity that it was to escape the basic conception of Western civilization that the Afrikaners planned the Great Trek of a hundred years ago, and that today they are trying to organize South African society on a foundation which fundamentally contradicts the basic principles of Western civilization. They claim the right to extend the educational, social, political and cultural knowledge which they have acquired to their own people and to lead them as an important, and eventually paramount, section of the South African nation. In this endeavour they have for long hoped for the co-operation of at least the more progressive section of Europeans, but today the majority of them feel that this hope has been destroyed and, although they have so far resisted the temptation to engage in purely anti-white African nationalist propaganda, the policy of the Europeans is driving them far on that course.

If proof is needed that Africans can appreciate, operate and contribute towards Western civilization it can be found today in South Africa itself. I mention here only three examples, to be found in Zwelitsa, Middledrift and Alice, but there are many more which could be quoted.

Near Kingwilliamstown, in the small village of Zwelitsa, there is an important experiment being tried, and, to its credit, I believe that it is supported by the Government. Here the entire business of factory and village life is run by Africans, with only a few Europeans still in advisory positions. The success of the experiment surely shows what Africans could do if they had the opportunities.

As we passed through the Ciskei, and also not far from Kingwilliamstown, we made a detour along a terribly corrugated gravel road to approach the little village of Middledrift, where lives one of the most interesting men in Africa, Dr Roseberry Bokwe. He is the only African doctor in South Africa directly employed by the Government.

It was, I believe, a kind of accident that he first became district

Medical Officer under the Smuts Government and has retained his position to the present day. He has his own maternity hospital in Middledrift and is even asked to attend a few white patients in the area. Anyone who knows a little of South African conditions will recognize the unusual position which he holds.

Dr Bokwe and his wife gave us a charming welcome and we joined the party of guests, consisting of another African doctor and an African headmaster and their wives. In the Bokwes' very pleasant European home we spent a most interesting visit, discussing many South African problems, and it was here that I had my first and very welcome experience of sleeping in a rondavel in the garden. If anyone doubted the ability of the African to achieve the highest professional distinction and to participate fully in every aspect of European culture and civilization, a visit to Middledrift would provide complete conviction.

Middledrift is only a few miles from Alice and, although Dr Bokwe assured us that the journey in his car, which was a Hudson, would take only a quarter of an hour, our old Ford gallantly managed to do the journey in under an hour. In Alice we were immediately greeted by Gladstone Letele and his wife, whom I had met on the Pretoria Castle on the voyage out. Mr Letele had spent three years lecturing in Bantu languages at London University and now had returned to Fort Hare, the only Native University College in South Africa, to continue his work amongst his own people. We had an intensely interesting evening with him and again the warmest of hospitality. I was very shocked to learn on my return to Britain that Mr Letele had died only a short time after I had seen him.

Fort Hare is officially known as the South African Native College and was opened in 1916 to prepare students for the degree examinations of the University of South Africa. Over three hundred Fort Hare students are in residence in the four hostels, three of which were erected by the Methodists, the Church of Scotland and the Church of the Province respectively. The fourth is a women's hostel for which money was given by the State and from private donations. Most of the students are Africans, but

there are also small groups of both Indians and Coloureds. Whilst I was in the country, a heated debate took place in Parliament as to whether Dr van Rhyn, who was presiding over the degree ceremony, had actually touched the hands of Non-Europeans!

Mr Letele showed us round Fort Hare as the dusk was falling and the students were gathering in the entrance to their hostels for their evening meal. Later in the evening a crowd of the students gathered in the main hall where I had the opportunity of a discussion with them. They were very frank in telling me particularly of the social problems which they faced within their own families, and emphasized a subservience which still widely exists within the family circle towards their elders. They had a keen political sense, and a long discussion ensued on the new importance of Africa as the conflict in Asia develops, and the great importance of the unity of the Non-European groups within South Africa in the struggle against the Europeans. But again I was struck by the fact that all the questions and discussions came from the men students, with the exception of one request from a woman to put out my pipe as the hall was used for morning prayers. It is obvious now that there is within this College a great emotional feeling of revolt, although the religious influence which characterizes its general atmosphere allows little of the student freedom which one normally expects in a University College.

The following morning we met a number of the members of the staff, including the Principal, Professor Dent, and the Vice-Principal, Professor Z. N. Matthews, who was a prominent member of the Native Representative Council. We had a pleasant and interesting conversation in the Common Room and then were shown round the various buildings, being particularly interested in the Zulu Museum and the Museum of the African Studies Department, which show many examples of important features of African tribal life. As we stood within the College we looked across the valley to see the neighbouring establishment of Lovedale College, the great mission school, and another example of the effort of Non-European education being made in this important district.

There are many desperate problems concerning the African peoples still awaiting solution in South Africa, and one can sympathize with any government which has to face them. Follies, omissions and incompetence in the past have aggravated and expanded those problems, which have certainly not been by any means simply the creation of the present Government. Many Africans are still ignorant, superstitious, indolent and apathetic, like every other people who have lived in similar environments, and much valuable, constructive work is being hampered and destroyed by these factors.

Yet, as I have shown, there are intelligent and educated Africans, which proves that given the opportunity, many of these handicaps can disappear. Without the co-operation and assistance of these educated men and women, the problems of the Africans cannot and will not be solved. They are the people to convince, educate, and lead their people, either in co-operation with enlightened European opinion or against the Europeans. This is the dilemma of the Government, and, in a lesser degree, of all South African European Governments. If the problems are to be solved, the co-operation of educated Africans is essential. If it is not sought, it will turn bitterly in frustration against the Europeans. Yet if that co-operation is sought, the Europeans fear that one day educated and intelligent Africans will become so numerous that the Europeans will be outnumbered. This, to them, appears as the final catastrophe, for they refuse to recognize that if they do not face up to it and accept it, every position they hold in the Union will inevitably be jeopardized and eventually become untenable. At present this is what is inevitably approaching, for the Africans who are conscious and aware feel themselves completely frustrated and therefore organize their politics on the basis of conflict with, instead of co-operation with, the European community. They will not now or ever admit that their place and that of their people is to be inferior to that of the European, and whatever specious arguments Europeans may use, the African today knows that to be the case.

Above all, every section of the Non-European political move-

ment, whatever its differences with its rivals, is united in characterizing the present policy of the Nationalist Government as completely and entirely oppressive. They reject the claim of those Nationalists who profess to aim at creating a fairer opportunity for the Non-Europeans and dismiss as hypocrisy the propaganda of Apartheid. They unanimously believe that this propaganda is only designed to cover the basic aim of the Nationalists, which is at all costs to keep the Non-Europeans in a state of complete subjection and subservience to the European master, and they suggest that all the efforts of people like the SABRA group do not conceal the real Nationalist intentions, which are expressed much more honestly by Mr Strydom.

The Non-European political scene is therefore dominated by a variety of attempts to achieve organizational unity and co-operation between the different groups, and to organize united opposition to European policies. One of the paramount features of this attempt is to be seen in the effort to bring into political organization those 8,000,000 Natives who form the vast majority of the Non-European population. If this effort is successful, the period of open conflict between European and Non-European throughout the country can hardly be postponed much longer.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE CAPE COLOURED INTELLECTUALS

PERHAPS MY MOST intimate and personal contact with Non-Europeans in the Union was with the Cape Coloureds. For three months I lived with and amongst them daily, got to know many of them personally, made many close friends and visited many homes. I was able to mix with increasing freedom amongst them and gradually became accepted into a few of their groups. There were considerable difficulties in achieving this position, for their hostility to all white people is growing very rapidly, although, paradoxically, it is amongst the Cape Coloureds that one finds most of the instances of Non-Europeans who try to pass as white. This is, of course, natural, because it is the main opening to economic opportunity, and many of the Cape Coloureds have much lighter skins than, for instance, the Transvaal Afrikaners.

It is difficult to describe the Cape Coloureds as a community because their circumstances and their mode of life differ so very widely. Amongst them one finds a considerable number of well educated and cultured people who have certainly reached a much higher level of civilization than a large number of Europeans. On the other hand, a considerable section of the people inhabit the worst slums of the Cape Town districts, and provide that distinctive type of young hooligan known as the skolly.

Let us look first at that section of this community which has made the opportunity to educate itself. There are a handful of doctors, there are High School teachers, University graduates and undergraduates, the teachers in Primary Schools, some small business men and quite a large number of clerical workers. Some of these people, particularly the doctors, live in very pleasant houses and run large cars. One finds amongst them the playboy, cocktail party type, who rather pathetically tries to attain, by a vulgar display of wealth and pseudo-modernity, the position which he cannot achieve through the exercise of other abilities.

One can perhaps sympathize with them more than one does with their European counterparts, for it would appear that they have lost all hope of gaining that self-respect denied through the colour of their skin, and have not the strength of character to take an active part in the struggle of their people. I have wondered many times when a large new Oldsmobile or Chrysler passed down Hanover Street, driven by a Coloured man, just what these few individuals were thinking as they passed the broken-down houses and barefooted children selling papers at the street corners.

This is, though, a very tiny fraction of the Coloured people, and the vast majority of the educated section of the Coloured community are fervently and even fanatically devoted to what they see as the cause of their people. Their own difficulties are, in one respect, even greater than those of the poorer classes. Through their own efforts, and usually after a very hard struggle, they have attained a certain educational and cultural standard. Yet in spite of their qualifications and aptitudes, they are denied the rights which are granted to the most illiterate and boorish Europeans. It seems ironical that the graduate in English literature will be refused admittance to the theatre which will open its doors to the European bus driver. The doctors, in particular, have a tremendous feeling of frustration. At the University of Cape Town they can take the medical course and complete their initial qualifications. They are then able to gain some experience, usually at the Somerset Hospital, which provides entirely for Non-European patients, but, having gained their usual year's experience as a houseman, they are almost all brought to a full stop. There are so few Non-European hospitals in the country, and they are strictly forbidden to attend a clinic which provides for white people, that their experience is strangled almost at birth. It is thought to be an extremely grave offence for a Non-European to look upon a white person's unclothed body, and I have heard of cases where Non-European medical students were ordered to turn their faces to the wall when an operation was being performed upon a white patient. It would appear almost as though there were an anxiety to hide the fact that the European is made in the

same way as the Non-European. Whilst I was in Cape Town this irrational prejudice was taken so far as to occasion a serious parliamentary debate as to the possible danger of mixing donations of blood and so giving an unfortunate European a blood transfusion with Non-European blood. Apparently it is more important to preserve blood purity than life itself and, even though the English-speaking newspapers quoted the elementary scientific fact that blood can be classified into groups, but that the groups have no relation to skin colours, there can be no doubt that the majority of South African Europeans would be horrified with the idea of being given a transfusion from a Non-European donor.

One would have thought that with the shortage of Non-European hospitals and the consequent lack of training facilities, the authorities would be only too anxious to encourage Non-European doctors and medical students to gain their experience abroad, yet quite the opposite is the case. Whilst I was in the country, three Non-European doctors secured scholarships endowed by the Government of India to continue their training in Indian hospitals. Each of them was refused a passport to travel to India and the Government has let it be known that it does not intend to grant such passports in future. No reasons were given for this refusal.

On the other hand, in the life of the hospital itself, the Non-European doctor has much better conditions than the nurse. There is no differentiation of pay for doctors, and their living conditions are similar to those of the European doctors in the same hospital. Social contact is not prohibited, although it is the usual practice to eat separately, and the living quarters are also divided.

In contrast, the nurses are paid only 60 per cent of the salaries of Europeans, and it is quite obvious that their chances of promotion are very slight indeed. In the Somerset Hospital, which I visited on several occasions, only one Non-European nurse had become a Sister, and there was no doubt that in selection for promotion it was the European who had much the better chance.

These Non-European hospitals are so few that they are always

crowded, and I actually saw many cases in which the demand was so great that patients were sleeping on the floor. Equipment was largely obsolete and always insufficient, whilst the shortage of nurses' accommodation prevented empty wards from being opened. Comparison between these conditions and those of the many beautiful European hospitals cannot be avoided.

Conditions in the Coloured schools vary enormously. There is a tremendous contrast for instance, between the very pleasant modern buildings of Livingstone and Trafalgar High Schools and the grossly overcrowded, ill-equipped and gloomy appearance of so many of the small Primary Schools. The children of the High Schools are nearly all well dressed and well fed, whilst large numbers of those in the Primary Schools are barefooted and clad in odd assortments of rags. There are many stages in between these two extremes, but the most urgent need is obviously for more schools and more teachers, and the fact that compulsory education does not apply to the Coloured children is obvious from the hundreds of them one sees near all the residential areas during school hours. Many of them, and many of those at school, try to supplement their parents' incomes by taking small jobs, particularly as paper sellers. One sees them in all the streets in the city, selling the morning and evening papers, with their collection of various magazines from home and abroad in piles on the pavement. As a whole, the teachers seem to be reasonably well paid when compared with the corresponding rates in Britain, and there is a wide variety of different grades, but the one universal affront to the Non-European teacher which is felt very bitterly indeed, is the fact that at all stages their salaries represent only 80 per cent of the corresponding grade for Europeans.

There is not much doubt that the general educational standards of the schools are lower than in Europe, nor could it be otherwise under present conditions. Not only are the classes far too large and the equipment scanty and out of date, but the training system is hardly calculated to produce high academic qualifications nor good teachers. The usual method is for a training college to be attached to a school and for the senior pupils simply to move

from one department to the other. They therefore become a part of the teaching staff without ever having had that opportunity for leisured study and for a thorough training of theory which is essential for the good teacher. Most of them are thrown out upon classes at the age of seventeen or eighteen and then proceed to teach during the day and to attend University evening classes at night in order to graduate. I could not but have the very highest admiration for the large body of teachers, who, after teaching large classes all day, were applying themselves to academic study at night, but this is hardly the method which one would advocate for obtaining good academic results. The University staffs themselves are very conscious of the necessarily lower standard of the majority of Non-European undergraduates.

Conscious of the disabilities under which they and their people are suffering, and the differentiation between their own opportunities and those of their European colleagues, the teachers in the Cape are always to be found in the heart of the political struggle. They form the main body of the educated section of the Coloured people and are very conscious of their position as leaders of the people. Having taken part in political life for many years and yet always being unable, however hard their endeavours, to have a direct influence upon any side of the political scene, many of them are apt to mistake dogmatic arguments for active political work, and this is reflected in the schism in their own organization. They divide their attention between the 'Teachers' League of South Africa' on the one hand, and the 'Teachers' Educational and Professional Association' on the other. The former is the older body and has played a very active part in professional and political organization for most of the century. The latter was formed as a breakaway from the Teachers' League in 1943, its members considering that the League had become too political. Probably this impression was caused by the fact that a younger section of teachers gained control of the organization, most of them with strong political inclinations. They determined that the League should not only play a part in the struggle of the Coloured people but that it should be linked with the movement

for Non-European unity, in close association with Africans and Indians. Since then, the Teachers' League and its leaders have taken an active part in the Non-European Unity Movement, which is a political organization, basing its policy on a ten point programme of demands for equality. There are a number of its leaders and officials who tend to adopt the language of Trotskyism and destroy much of the appeal of their propaganda by rigid dogmatism.

Although the T.E.P.A. disapproves of this political activity, it is just as vehemently opposed to the maintenance of discrimination against its members, but its more moderate outlook has had such little success that it is likely either that the organization will take a stronger line or that its members will drift away from it.

I was invited, whilst in Cape Town, to give an address to the Annual Conference of the Teachers' League, which met in June in Woodstock. Being unwilling to take any part in South African politics myself, I gave a strictly academic lecture on 'The Place of History in the Struggle for Freedom'. The lecture ranged over the whole history of mankind and, although the Town Hall was so crowded that people were standing in the aisles and crowded round the doors, I had never had a better audience in my experience. I was profoundly impressed by the seriousness of the questions and discussion, and felt that here was a body of people fervently anxious to take part in the framing of their own and of the world's society, yet continually frustrated by the barriers within their nation.

Incidentally, from this experience I gained some personal evidence of the prejudiced attitude taken by the European newspapers to Non-European affairs. I had been approached by the reporters representing the *Cape Times* and the *Cape Argus* and asked whether I would be prepared to give them summaries of my lecture in order that they might send their reports in time for the first editions of their papers. Accordingly I spent half an hour with them, outlining the main points of my lecture and answering their questions. I was somewhat surprised to find that although the *Times* gave a few lines to my talk, the *Argus* ignored

it altogether. I have no doubt that if that lecture had been given to a European audience it would at least have received the same attention as similar lectures obtain in the British Press.

The division within the teaching world is symptomatic of the divided councils throughout the Coloured community. The Cape Coloureds have never had that homogeneity which is to be seen amongst Africans, Indians and to a lesser extent amongst the Europeans themselves. By the very nature of their characteristics they are people in between the other groups, accepted by neither African nor European. Until the time of Union they were largely regarded as almost European and played an important and quite self-respecting part in the community. Many of them were skilled artisans and their leaders were at least frequently consulted by the European politicians. Since the Union, their position has become increasingly difficult, and many of their rights have disappeared. They are therefore in a transition period, some still holding on to the European connection and hoping to be accepted as European, others intent upon leading their people into active co-operation with the other Non-Europeans.

This division of opinion has been reflected in the opposition between the two major groups, represented on the one hand by those taking part in the Non-European Unity Movement and on the other by the Coloured People's National Union. The division between these groups is still further reflected in the columns of the two Coloured people's papers, the *Torch* and the *Sun*.

In spite of this division, with its usual clash of personalities and mutual recrimination, it would seem certain that the force and logic of events is rapidly driving the two groups towards a common policy.

It is a matter of tactics rather than of principle which separates the two sections. The more extreme would attempt to break off all contact with European groups and abandon any attempt to convince Europeans of their case. They apply themselves intently to the study of political thought and have built up a body of political theory which they apply to any situation which arises. They are trying to create unity between the different sections of

Non-European opinion in their Non-European Unity Movement, which is based upon a ten point programme consisting of:

1. Equal franchise rights for all.
2. Compulsory free and uniform education for all children up to the age of sixteen.
3. Inviolability of person, of one's house and privacy.
4. Freedom of movement and occupation.
5. Freedom of speech, press, meetings and association.
6. Full equality of rights for all citizens without distinction of race, colour and sex.
7. Revision of the land question in accordance with above.
8. Revision of the civil and criminal code.
9. Revision of the system of taxation.
10. Revision of the labour legislation and its application to mines and agriculture.

They refuse to associate or collaborate with any groups who do not attain to this high standard of political purity and are particularly caustic about the activities of those whom they term 'collaborators'. This attitude was to be seen particularly in the organization of the 'Day of Protest' on June 26th 1950, although one would have thought that the attempted organization of the nation's first political general strike would have united the efforts of all political groups. The Unity Movement not only remained aloof but openly criticized those who were organizing the strike, on the grounds that it could not be successful and would therefore weaken the Non-European Movement. The younger members of this group take an active part in the organization of debating and other intellectual societies, and there is constant mental effort being engendered from the schoolroom right up to adult life. In particular the outlook of a man like Benny Kies, who is editor of the *Educational Journal*, and who has the advantage of having spent some years in London, is a constant inspiration to intellectual endeavour, and I think that it is probable that his greater vision and breadth of outlook will break through the rather restricted bonds of the theoretical purists, whose 'holier than thou' attitude

is probably due to their lack of opportunity of contact and discussion with groups outside their own circles.

The Coloured People's National Union is led by one of the most noted members of the Coloured community, G. J. Golding, headmaster of Ashley Street School. The links which bind the Teachers' League to the Non-European Unity Movement are paralleled by those between the T.E.P.A. and the National Union. The attitude of these two latter organizations is much milder and more pragmatic. In the past it has been willing to work in association with European liberal opinion and has come to be regarded as one of the main mouthpiece of Coloured opinion. The language used in its declarations and publications is a good deal more moderate and, to an outsider, rather more dignified and therefore more impressive.

But if the National Union and the T.E.P.A. appear more balanced in their critical attitude, their tactics would seem by the force of events to have been proved unsuccessful. As I sat in Mr Golding's school offices, surrounded on all sides by sporting trophies won by the school, rather amused by the efficiency of his radio relay system, by which he can speak to all parts of the school, I got the impression of a man and an organization whose purpose had steadily been destroyed by the increasing intransigence of the European authorities. He told me that his National Union was originally formed as a breakaway from the African Peoples' Organization, which is one of the oldest and most respected of Non-European peoples' organizations in the Union. He claimed to have 85,000 members, organized in branches with provincial and central executives and a delegate conference as a policy-making authority. He told me that the main basis of its philosophy was its belief in political evolution. It had therefore supported the Coloured Advisory Council and the idea of a Coloured Advisory Department in order to inform the Union Government of the ideas and attitudes of the Coloured people on all issues. Now, however, the Union no longer associates with the Government, and is moving ever closer to other Non-European groups. Like most of the intelligent and honest

Non-European leaders, Mr Golding believes that it is bad policy to demand immediate equal franchise rights, and suggests that the better method is to acquire such rights gradually.

It became clear to me, as I sat and listened, occasionally prompting with a question, that the moderate and evolutionary policy of Golding and his supporters had been constantly frustrated and undermined and that, as the European authorities steadily destroyed the few remaining rights of the Coloured people, even these moderates were being driven into more extreme opposition. He told me that he realized increasingly the necessity for unity between the different Non-European groups and thought that the initiative should come from the Africans, to avoid the suspicion that the Coloured people, with their tradition of privileged position, were out to use African support for their own purposes. He pointed to the example of the Japanese and Chinese who, after securing the recognition of their equal rights in South Africa, had left the ranks of the Non-Europeans, and he expressed the fear, which is also to be found elsewhere, that if the Indians were to secure equality they would follow the same example. The C.P.N.U. also remained aloof from the organization of Protest Day, but Mr Golding seemed to admit that they had probably been wrong and gave me the impression that when similar efforts are made in the future, his Union may well be associated with them.

In fact, when the test came in 1951 in the shape of the Bill to remove the Coloured voters from the common roll, Mr Golding proved this. After he and his colleagues had exhausted every attempt to negotiate with the Government, attempts which his opponents considered 'collaboration', he threw in his lot with the Franchise Action Committee which was organizing opposition to the Bill. It is true that he opposed this Committee's tactics in organizing another political strike, but he explained that by maintaining that such action would be illegal, and suggested a boycott of sports meetings in its place.

Finally this Coloured leader described to me a personal incident which typifies the increasing frustration of the intellectual and educated sections of the Coloured people. He told me of a boy

who had been one of his students and whose parents he had persuaded to make tremendous sacrifices in order to allow him to take his chance in the University of Cape Town. There he had developed into a brilliant scientist, but, having graduated with First Class Honours, he was refused research facilities on account of the colour of his skin. The only opportunity left to him to earn a living was in school teaching, which he loathed and detested, having the temperament for research in the higher ranges of scientific knowledge, rather than for teaching boys the use of litmus paper. Unable to maintain his sanity in this frustrating form of work, he had resigned his post and was now steadily drinking away his life.

Both the Non-European Unity Movement and the Coloured People's National Union are of recent origin, arising largely from the ferment of political interest amongst the Coloured people which was aroused in 1943. In that year the Smuts Government decided that it could hope to attract the support of voters in the General Election by offering a new Government Department to the Cape Coloureds. It suggested the setting up of a Coloured Advisory Department, on the lines of the Department of Native Affairs, and actually appointed a Coloured Advisory Council, which was to be the consultative body linking the Government to the interest of the Coloured people.

Far from accepting this move as an earnest of the interest of the Government in the welfare of the Coloured community, the politically-minded Coloureds immediately resented the suggestion that they should be considered as separate from the Europeans. They jumped to the conclusion that this was the first step towards the separation of their franchise from that of the Europeans and sceptically pointed out that the Advisory Council had a consultative capacity only, without any form of political power.

It was from this conflict that the division arose between the two sections of the Coloured people. The left wing formed themselves into an Anti-C.A.D. committee, which has provided the backbone of the Unity Movement. The moderates formed the National Union, which supported the Council, believing that it

provided a useful basis for collaboration with the Government.

Perhaps the most significant fact of the present situation is that the Coloured Advisory Council resigned at the beginning of 1950, recognizing that it could no longer be in the interests of the Coloured people to try and collaborate with the Nationalist Government. The logic of events has therefore disillusioned the moderates, and an increasing identification of policy with the intransigents is inevitable, restricted only by the clash of personalities.

Somewhere between these two attitudes comes the old African Peoples' Organization, the original political party of the Coloured people. The A.P.O. was formed by Dr Abdurhaman, probably the most respected of all Coloured men, at the beginning of the century. Many of his family have also formed part of the political world, though not always as members of his organization. His daughter, Cissie Gool, for instance, was instrumental with her brother-in-law, Goolam Gool, in forming the National Liberation League in 1937 as a radical splinter from the A.P.O. It was they, also, who took the leadership of the Anti-C.A.D. in 1943.

I was fortunate in meeting Dr Abdurhaman's nephew, 'Sonny', in the Coloured tennis club of which I became a member. He is now the principal leader of the Cape section of his uncle's party, and became famous in his own right as the leader of the opposition to the introduction of segregation on the Cape Town railway service. Whilst I was in Cape Town his action in refusing to obey the 'Europeans Only' signs on the trains was vindicated by the Supreme Court.

Sonny Abdurhaman and his wife are both teachers, and it was in their house, seated beneath a large portrait of the famous Doctor, that I learnt much of the history of the organization and read through the copies of the early issues of their journal. Sometimes I would sit on the foot of his bed when I called late at night and Sonny, lean and cadaverous, with a twist of the mouth producing both humour and biting sarcasm, would tell me of his uncle and of the humiliations and indignities which his people suffered.

When the A.P.O. was first formed at the beginning of the century there was little need to campaign in the Cape Peninsula. Franchise rights were equal for all races, and, although the property or income qualifications might be expected to exclude more Coloureds than Europeans from their exercise, this was an economic rather than a political restriction. Any man, no matter what the colour of his skin or his antecedents, who possessed immovable property to the value of £75 or an income of £50 and could write his name, address and occupation, was eligible to vote. The first political efforts of the A.P.O. were therefore concentrated on extending this equality to the other provinces.

In this effort they failed, even at the time of Union, and their deputation to Westminster in 1909 was unsuccessful in its attempt to influence the drafting of the Act of Union. Many of the most intelligent and balanced Coloured leaders today still blame Britain for much of the racial prejudice which has dominated the country over the last forty years. They believe that Britain betrayed them when racial discrimination was written into the franchise clauses of the Act of Union, which was a British Act and had to pass the British House of Parliament, although it was drafted by South Africans.

Led by Dr Abdurhaman, the A.P.O. consistently supported Smuts' South African Party after the first war, and he himself sat in the Provincial Council unopposed by the S.A.P. He was, indeed, the close confidant and advisor of leading members of the Cabinet.

In 1930 the whole position changed. For the first time women were given the vote but this was confined to European women. When, in the following year, all restrictions were removed from the European franchise and full adult suffrage was granted, much of the power of the Coloured vote was destroyed. Its relative strength was halved by the grant of the vote to European women and fell still lower when economic and educational tests were abolished for all Europeans.

In 1936, the more intelligent of the Coloured people saw the writing even more plainly on the wall. The two-thirds majority

of both Houses of Parliament was obtained to alter the Constitution and remove the Native voters in the Cape from the common voters' roll. All politicians, including General Hertzog and the present Prime Minister, Dr Malan, assured the Coloured people that such a policy would never be applied to them. The less cautious Coloureds, liking to feel themselves superior to the Native, accepted this assurance and left the Natives to their fate, but most of the Coloured leaders warned their people that such promises were worthless and that, when it suited them, the European politicians would take the same action with the Coloured voters. Time has proved them right.

The fact is that with the advance of Non-Europeans economically and educationally the European is beginning to feel that his domination is insecure. Progressively, therefore, the rights of the Non-European have been curtailed, lest by advancing culture and knowledge he threatens European supremacy. The cynicism of this policy has been seen when, in spite of the argument that the Non-European must be kept in a subordinate position because of his backwardness, the franchise rights of the Coloureds have been taken from them at the time when they are better educated than ever before.

The crisis for the A.P.O. came in 1944, on the issue of collaboration or opposition towards the Government. The organization split, but the majority took the opposition line, which led the minority into forming the Coloured People's National Union. Since then the A.P.O. has perhaps declined in membership, but it still remains the one mainly Coloured organization which has influence in the North and East as well as in the Cape, and the opportunity which it provides for membership of all races may prove important in the future.

In view of the impression which I had obtained whilst in the Union that all the Non-European groups were rapidly sinking their differences and unifying their policy of opposition to the present Government, I was somewhat surprised to discover during the winter of 1950-1 that great bitterness and fratricidal conflict had again broken out between the main Coloured organizations

in the Cape. All of them were completely opposed to the Bill which would remove Coloured voters from the common electoral roll, but each of them seems to spend greater time and energy on reviling one another than in organizing opposition to the Government.

There are three main groups amongst them; the Anti-CAD Non-European Unity section, the Golding group and that faction led by the ex-Communists. Each group is represented by a newspaper, the *Torch*, the *Sun* and the *Guardian* respectively. Each of them is filled week after week with accusations, charges and counter-charges and the naughtiest words, just within the law, against their competing factions. Golding and his supporters certainly seem to have put themselves outside the struggle by acknowledging the right and power of the Government to the extent of entering into conversations with Mr Havenga as deputy Prime Minister. Yet this three-fold diversion of forces is clearly making the task of the Government in abolishing the rights of a million Coloured people ludicrously easy. However much each faction may claim that it has the vast majority of the Coloured people behind it, it is obvious that, in fact, they are bewildered, disillusioned and divided in the face of their greatest peril by the fractious attitude of their leaders. Until they can forge some form of common unified policy, even if only to attain specific limited objectives, any European Government will find it simple to resist their opposition and the potential contribution which they could make to the Non-European struggle throughout the Union can never materialize.

I have concentrated upon the political situation of the Coloured people in Cape Town because I had the best opportunities there for studying it and, so far as I could gather, it is similarly reflected in the other areas of the Cape Province. In Worcester, Port Elizabeth and East London, the same kind of arrangement is to be found, and although, naturally, organization is neither so virile nor so conscious in the rural areas, the members of the teaching profession in particular provide an important link between town and country.

During my second visit to the Union in 1951 it was apparent to me that in the previous year I had somewhat under-estimated the divisive influences amongst the various sections of Non-European opinion. The impression I had gained in 1950 that the intensive segregation campaign of the Nationalist Government would drive the Non-European movements into quick unity to consolidate their defences had not been borne out, and there were even greater signs of divided and opposing counsels than a year earlier. The Franchise Action Committee, largely inspired by the ex-Communists, had made an attempt in the Cape to form a united front to oppose the Separate Representation of Voters Act, but the forces supporting the Non-European Unity Movement refused to have anything to do with anyone who would not support their Ten Point Programme and also pledge themselves to boycott any elections to be held under the new Act. The A.P.O. had expelled one of its officials for taking part in the organization of the Franchise Action Committee and thrown in its now insignificant lot with the Unity Movement. The African National Congress and the All-African Convention were still at loggerheads and, although a measure of unity had been established between the Indian and African Congresses, there were many voices of dissent from this policy on both sides. There was, in fact, little sign that Non-Europeans as a whole were prepared to drop their differences of policy and unite on a limited programme of opposition to what all feel is the intolerable oppression of the Government. Nevertheless, it is a fact that the policy of the Government is driving the Non-Europeans to desperation, placing their opposition on an evermore common footing and eventually the inevitable unified defence and attack will be produced.

The obvious and inescapable deduction from this analysis is that the Coloured people are steadily being driven away from their close association with Europeans and particularly with European liberal opinion. Whether they like it or not, they are being increasingly classed as Non-Europeans, and are being forced in their own self-defence to work ever more closely with other sections of the Non-European community. Some of them see this

to be to the ultimate benefit of the Coloured people and are anxious to hasten and lead its progress. Others still look longingly backward to the times of their close European association, but even they are being increasingly forced to realize that that period has now finally passed. If this association with Africans and Indians is firmly cemented under a common Non-European consciousness, it will have some good effects for the whole Non-European community, for the Coloured people, generally speaking, have had a longer and higher experience of responsibility and better opportunities for education and mental development. On the other hand, they are by no means as homogeneous a people as either the Africans or the Indians, and it would seem likely that although they may well infuse the other groups with a better intellectual leadership, their community as a whole is unlikely to acquire the same unified driving force as is increasingly evident amongst both African and Indian. In any event, the long distances between the four different Provinces make national organization extremely difficult, and one encounters an entirely different political atmosphere in the eastern part of the country from that of the western Cape. If national organization and co-operation amongst Non-Europeans is to become significant, the link between the western Cape and the other three Provinces would depend very largely upon the attitude of the Cape Coloureds.

THE COLOURED COMMON PEOPLE

THE TEACHERS AND doctors who form the majority of the politically educated section of the Coloured people are a very small minority of this community of one million and live in totally different surroundings from the mass of the people. The doctors are hardly able to cope with the hundreds of patients who flock to them, and are thus able to make a very good living out of this large demand for their services. The teachers are reasonably well paid and many of them, like the doctors, are able not only to run cars and live in pleasant houses, but frequently to employ Coloured or Native servants, and on a master-servant basis which hardly squares with their theoretical political pretensions. In fact, as I told them on numerous occasions, it would do them good to hear some of the cynical comments which the British miner, steel-worker or factory-hand would pass on their complaint of being the down-trodden poor. This does not, of course, characterize all doctors and teachers, many of whom have had desperately hard struggles to educate themselves, and some of whom give more than generously to the political and social causes of their people, but it is a characteristic which is not confined to the few.

If one wants to see how the majority of the Coloured people live, it is to District Six, to Windermere and to the Cape Flats that one should turn. District Six has been notorious for years, and behind the main street, Hanover Street, one can find typical examples of the slums to be seen in most industrial cities of the world. Overcrowding, jerry-building, lack of sanitation and the absence of playing fields and schools, make up the usual urban slum area. Yet in spite of its notoriety, I walked and drove round these streets at all hours of the day and night without seeing any sign of violence and without the slightest hint of molestation.

Compared with Windermere, it seemed to me that District Six is a paradise. Whilst one can see slums comparable to the

latter in any European city, nothing approaching Windermere has ever been seen or visualized outside South Africa.

On my first visit to Windermere I was guided by a Coloured servant. We drove out from Woodstock to the industrial area of Salt River and Maitland and then left the tarred road to follow a dirt track to her house in Kensington. This was built of corrugated iron in the shape of a small box with a hole in the roof for a chimney. It consisted of two rooms with an earth floor, in which lived five adults and four children. But in this area, it was indeed a palace.

From Kensington I continued into the maze of dirt and mud 'roads' which is Windermere. On this first occasion the weather was reasonably dry and most of the 'roads' were passable. Later I visited the area after there had been rain, and it had been transformed overnight into one vast muddy quagmire, broken only by a variety of filthy sheets of water. On either side of all the 'roads' was to be seen such a collection of habitations as beggar description. Without any scheme or plan, shacks had been thrown up, made of iron, wood, tin, and mud, with the gaps covered over with sacking and hessian to provide a shelter which in the hot weather stinks and suffocates and in the cold becomes a concentration of draughts. But it is during the wet and windy season that these people suffer most. Such hovels provide practically no shelter from any kind of rain and during the torrential downpours which soak the peninsula during the wet winters, as often as not blown by the Atlantic gales, everything within, humans, animals, furniture and clothing is completely soaked day and night. After any rain the whole area becomes one vast sea of drying clothes—bedclothes, personal clothes and the sacking which forms part of the house. Any kind of internal fire is quite out of the question, for chimneys do not exist and cooking has to take place over the smoking fires which are kindled outside the shacks in buckets. Sanitation is absent, *ad hoc* arrangements being made by each family, with occasional visits from municipal refuse carts. It is not surprising in these circumstances that the Non-European tuberculosis rate in South Africa is one of the highest

in the world, being calculated at an approximate rate of 900 per 100,000 compared with 32 per 100,000 of the Europeans in the same country. Even the famous sunny climate needs decent human habitation to build healthy bodies.

By the side of one of these earth roads I stopped to examine a Native kraal. It is built in the shape of a square, perhaps a quarter of a mile in perimeter. The walls of the kraal are made entirely of wood, about ten feet high, and into them are built the Native houses. The interior of the square is one huge mud heap, on which the women do their washing and cooking round the bucket fires, whilst at the same time it serves as the children's playground.

I felt somewhat apprehensive of entering this compound lest the inhabitants should resent my prying. However, I was there to learn facts, and so I entered by the gap in the wall which serves as the entrance gate. I was very surprised to find how quickly I was welcomed, particularly by the children. As soon as I opened my camera I was surrounded by piccaninnies varying from the age of about two to adolescents. All of them wanted their photograph taken and it was not long before men and women also were bringing their children to be photographed and inviting me to see their homes.

The entrance to each dwelling consisted of upper and lower hinged doors. The reason for this was not hard to find, for it was apparent that this was the only form of ventilation and that unless the upper doors were left ajar, the people inside would suffocate. The inside of these log huts consisted of one room, the opposite walls of which could almost be touched by stretching the arms. The beds were arranged in bunk fashion and in the same room hung the pots and pans and all the domestic utensils and paraphernalia gathered by the family. It is in this room that the whole family lives, no matter how large it may be. Most of the rooms I saw were spotlessly clean, and each family had managed to achieve some individuality in its home, the only common feature being the picture of the King and Queen on the wall.

Encouraged by the warmth of the reception I had received

here, in spite of the difficulty of language, I drove slowly round the whole of this vast mud-based area and took photographs of a number of scenes. One which intrigued me was the site of a rickety wooden-built church with its bearded minister working at his carpentry outside. Another was the view of a huddled collection of shacks on the edge of a sea of mud, silhouetted against the background of the famous Table Mountain. Table Mountain has been used as a world-wide advertisement for the glories and beauties of this land of sunshine and happiness. Few who have looked on the posters and photographs of that famous landmark can have suspected what lies beneath its shadow.

On the way out of Windermere I met the fearsome looking buses bringing the male inhabitants back from their work in the city. As I drove along the earthen roads, flanked by the dirt and mud, and the shoes, clothes, meat and vegetables of the vendors, who use the ground as their shops, I noticed that the nearer one got to the main road leading north to Bellville and Parow, the more were substantial houses to be seen. The area becomes quite mixed, shanties built of paraffin tins being situated next to quite pleasant looking stucco villas. Back on the main north road, hundreds of huge American cars were hurrying from the city to the northern dormitory suburbs, and I could not but wonder how many of them had any realization of the lives of the thousands of people who were living within a few yards of their daily journey.

Windermere is by no means the only shanty area in the precincts of Cape Town. One afternoon I drove out from Woodstock across the neck of the peninsula through the suburb towns of Claremont and Wynberg, along the road leading to Muizenberg. Once clear of the towns and trolley buses beyond Wynberg, I turned to the left, across several miles of low lying and boggy land known as the Cape Flats.

On either side of the road were numerous primitive dwellings, sometimes known as shanties, or more often in this area as pondokkies. Some of these were mere shelters built from twigs, leaves and sacking, whilst others were something of the Windermere pattern, made of paraffin tins, corrugated iron and wood.

Any form of elementary urban amenities appeared to be completely lacking and no one could doubt the extremely impoverished and unhealthy character of the whole area. Water is bought and sold on a private basis, the cost varying according to whether or not it is delivered. Sanitary arrangements are completely unorganized, shops unlicensed and very dirty, schools few, small, and with primitive equipment, and medical attention very scarce. As the area is so low-lying, stagnant water is a continual menace, and during the rainy season a large number of people are simply washed out of all shelter and frequently marooned for long periods. With scanty clothing and often no blankets, the continual battle of the people, men, women, and children, for survival, may be imagined. The distended stomach, so common a sign of malnutrition amongst children of the poor of all primitive countries, is here the normal characteristic of children of all ages and it is past comprehension how any child survives after living for four months each year continually deprived of shelter from wind and rain, amidst the filth and wastage of the community, and nauseated by the steamy smells which arise as soon as the sun shines.

In the midst of the Windermere quagmire, I had noticed a wooden hut bearing the name 'Friends of Windermere Association'. Here in the Cape Flats I visited its larger and more famous brother, known as the 'Cape Area Flats Distress Association' or more usually as 'CAFDA'. Reminding one somewhat of a foreign legion barracks in this desert of poverty and disease, this small square of buildings represents the outpost of the conscience of Cape Town. Here is to be found no charity-minded paternalism, but a good hard and healthy outlook on the facts, reinforced by a cheerfulness which has no relation to the surrounding scenes. I was directed to the office of the Warden, Dr O. D. Wollheim, an Afrikaner school teacher from East London, who is one of the very few South African Afrikaners who take an active interest in social work amongst Non-Europeans. He explained to me something of the appalling life of the people of this area, before taking me round the Community Centre with its nursery and

creche, its soup kitchen and shop and its second-hand clothing department and cobbler. There was no fuss, or atmosphere of self-righteousness, but a calm, quiet and determined little community, each individual aware of the next job to be done and quietly setting about accomplishing it. In the hall, which is used for the youth clubs and the cinema shows, I met the small group of women who gathered together to knit garments and to sort out the various old clothes which were collected by the organization. Amongst them I was introduced to Miss Attlee, sister of the former British Prime Minister, who had spent most of her life out here and had won warm affection from the Coloured people for the social efforts she had made on their behalf.

After completing our inspection of the buildings, I stood outside with Dr Wollheim, beside one of the vans which in the bad seasons take soup around the area to the people who are without food or whose food and cooking arrangements have been destroyed by the rains. Looking across the mountains, he pointed out how the industrial revolution of Cape Town, with its accompanying influx of rural dwellers into the town, has led to a rapidly widening tide of European residential areas which has spread outwards from the city and driven the Coloured people before it. As the Europeans are attracted into industry, so their residential areas spread along the slopes of the mountain towards Constantia and uproot many of the Coloured families from their traditional areas. As this process takes place, land syndicates are formed to buy up, at very cheap rates, the land which now forms the Cape Flats, and as the Coloured people are driven into the Flats they find these landlord companies there awaiting them. Desperate for some kind of home, they are forced to pay very heavy prices for small plots of land, usually on the hire-purchase system. The heavy instalments, along with the replacement of Coloureds by Europeans in skilled and semi-skilled work, has had the continual effect of depressing their economic position until they have become the slum-dwellers of today. Frequently they are unable to pay their instalments and are evicted, the land being sold again. Sometimes, according to a Government Report,

plots are sold on as many as twelve different occasions. Meanwhile, the social conditions were complicated for the Coloureds by the rapid influx of Native labour, officially encouraged for such projects as the building of the Duncan Dock. The housing provision made for them was quite inadequate, and when the municipal township of Langa was filled, they overflowed into Windermere and the Cape Flats. The Natives were not allowed to own the ground and, consequently, they too put up these appalling shanty structures which can easily be removed from one place to another when the landlord becomes too impatient for the payment of the heavy rent.

In some towns, it should be said, the municipal authorities have made considerable efforts to organize their shanty areas and to provide them with at least the minimum essentials of municipal amenities, but the growth of population has always been too fast for the municipal administration to cope with, and new housing schemes have been overcrowded almost before they are completed. Sub-letting has become the normal practice, in order to supplement meagre incomes and to provide some means of shelter for the thousands of homeless, and as the pace of urbanization increases, so the local authorities completely lose contact with the realities of the situation. In many cases they are even unable to state within a matter of thousands the number of people living in such areas.

It is from such social conditions that arises the well-known problem of skollydom. South Africans seem to think that the skolly, mainly associated with District Six and similar areas in Cape Town, is a phenomenon peculiar to their own country. The skolly is a youth, generally characterized by an unusual form of dress, such as the wearing of the cap back to front, the long jacket, trousers at half-mast, who is a member of a gang of similar youths, dressed in a similar fashion. Organized acts of violence under cover of darkness, disinclination to work, and a lounging, scowling and self-consciously cynical attitude, are their characteristics. They are paralleled by similar Native gangs called *tsotsies*.

It is such gangs that give the Native and Coloured communities their notorious reputation for violence and lawlessness. This reputation is quite unwarranted, for there is no indication that the violent crime rate of either community is higher than that of any other people. Certainly we know in Europe the work of such gangs of youths, and we recognize the social causes. The youth who has been brought up in a shanty or pondokkie, amidst filth and neglect, whose young life has been marred by continual hunger, by septic sores and rotting teeth, who has had no moral guidance from parents or teachers and whose parental example has frequently been one of violence and debauchery, has hardly had the type of training to make him a co-operative member of the community. His membership of the gang is evidence of his need for security and social association, and his participation in violence of his revolt against the community which has brought him nothing but disease, want and fear from his earliest days.

Such anti-social behaviour will only be hardened and perpetuated if answered by counter-violence. Dr Wollheim told me of the totally different attitude of such youths when in the premises of CAFDA, where they gain a sense of confidence and friendship. He told me, for instance, that at his Boys' Club, not a single pack of cards had disappeared in the previous three months, whilst there had never been a serious quarrel in his Club, although it was frequented by three rival gangs.

What, then, are my general impressions of the Cape Coloured people after living with them for over three months? I have made many friends amongst them and some of the happiest times of my visit to South Africa came from the comradeship I found in the Coloured tennis club which welcomed me into its midst, and in the Coloured homes, which were so hospitably open to me. Certainly I could never speak too highly of the very warm and generous hospitality which I received from the Coloured people from the moment that I landed in their country.

The main impression which I gained of these people is that of their intense and increasing feeling of frustration. Until only comparatively recently they had been accepted in the Cape as

skilled artisans, clerks and in the professions. The increasing insistence during the 1930s on the employment of white labour in all skilled occupations and the gradual infiltration into the Cape of the ideas of the Boer Republics, has steadily contracted and restricted their opportunities and correspondingly embittered their outlook. The desire of the 'in-betweens' to be recognized and acknowledged as whites has become desperate as opportunities for Coloureds disappear, whilst the lack of political power of the community as a whole has left them with a sense of hopelessness. More and more of them and, unfortunately, often those with the best brains and most initiative, are looking towards Britain as a haven of freedom, and leaving the country.

Socially there is little to distinguish the Cape Coloured from the traditions of the rest of the country. They too have the traditional friendliness, hospitality and casualness of the easy-going South African, and share equally in the general lack of punctuality, decisiveness and energetic thought. It seems to me, too, that the Coloured people have retained even longer than the Europeans that patriarchal spirit which is another tradition of the country. The family is regarded as a clan, and even the most distant relations are considered part of it. A family party on a birthday or national celebration is a formidable affair, both from the number of people who congregate and from the amount of food and drink to be consumed. In this system the male is a dominant authority; women are considered intellectually and socially inferior, and parental discipline tends to stifle initiative and freedom of thought amongst children.

These deep-rooted prejudices are particularly unfortunate for the community. There are a few women, notably the Gool sisters, in public life, but they are very few and unrepresentative of the majority of Coloured womanhood. I was particularly struck by the fact that when I went to talk to the senior pupils at Livingstone High School, not a single girl would open her mouth, quite contrary to the usual practice in Britain, where, at this age, girls are usually more mature than boys. The general concept seems to be that the woman's place is in the kitchen and in bed, and

there seems to be little sign of revolt against this, even amongst the many women teachers.

Like other South Africans, the Coloured people are intensely keen on sport in all its forms, although their opportunities are very limited. In tennis, one Coloured man, D. R. Samaai, has twice appeared at Wimbledon, but, as in all other sports, a prohibition against competition between Europeans and Non-Europeans greatly restricts progress. Coloured rugby, soccer and cricket teams abound, and I was especially privileged to witness the biennial soccer test match between the South African Coloured XI and South African Bantu XI, which was played at Kensington during my stay. (It is largely due to the Cape Coloureds that soccer has been introduced into South Africa, and as long ago as 1899 a Coloured team visited Britain.) Yet even at this test match the facilities were primitive—dressing rooms being little larger than hen-houses and the only stand being an open, frail, wooden structure, carrying perhaps a hundred people.

The position in the table tennis world was decidedly piquant. During my visit Richard Bergman, the world champion, was touring the Union. However, the white association is not recognized by the International Federation on account of its colour bar, and it is the Non-European section which has international membership. Bergman was playing with the white association which led to his suspension on this account.

The Coloured people are fervent supporters of white sporting events, but are closely segregated into their own special area on all sports grounds. Indeed, it would seem in this connection that Non-Europeans in the sporting world would do much better to try and enter into competition with teams from other parts of the African continent than attempt to invade the sacred white precincts. Sporting associations in Britain would be serving the interests of our international sporting tradition well by inviting South African Non-European teams to come to this country.

Finally, it appears quite clear that the future of the Cape Coloured people will be increasingly bound up with that of the other Non-Europeans of the country. They are rapidly being

separated distinctly and rigidly from the European population and any hopes they may have had of becoming integrated with the Europeans have now disappeared. From infancy, through school life and adolescence into adulthood, they are suffering the indignity of inferiority, and it is impressive to see how, even in school, they are reacting against such a position. Particularly in the High Schools, the children are becoming aware at a very early age that they are being called to assume the leadership of their people, and this growing political consciousness can only logically result in close association with the other Non-European sections. At the moment, that alliance is held up by personal jealousies, by weak organization, over-theorizing, obsolete social customs and superstitious religion, but the forces which are driving the Coloured people away from European society are so strong and impetuous that, in spite of themselves, the Cape Coloureds are rapidly recognizing themselves as South African Non-Europeans.

AFRICA MEETS ASIA

IT WAS ACROSS the Buffalo River in the coal district of Newcastle that I first noticed the Indians. There had been Indians, of course, in Johannesburg and a few even in Cape Town, but here it was different. In Newcastle, Ladysmith, Estcourt, and the surrounding districts, it is the Indians, with their dark, aquiline faces and flashing eyes, and with the women dressed in many-hued saris, who dominate the scene. Though there are still many Africans and Europeans, one has become accustomed to them, but the large number of Indians bring a new element to the eye and are a reminder of the fact that there are three distinct racial groups in the Union.

We had crossed the high veld south of Johannesburg, driving over undulating hills of forests with glorious views of the mighty Drakensberg range on the western skyline, and now came through the wattles and blue gum trees and pines to the beautifully planned Pietermaritzburg, the capital of Natal. Then up and down the hills, amidst sugar cane and banana trees, through palms and mangoes and across the head of that breath-taking Valley of a Thousand Hills, where fold upon fold of mountain and valley stretched to the horizon. So through the increasingly tropical vegetation of red, and purple, and yellow, and down the two thousand five hundred feet of mimosa-covered hills to the city of Durban, lying beside the warm Indian Ocean. Immediately we were in the midst of the blended and contrasting colours of the East and the South, where the rickshaw boys, in their colourful tribal costumes, surmounted by multi-coloured feathered head-dresses and huge ox-horns, pull their customers along the beautiful sea-front, and the brilliant oriental hues mingle in the Indian bazaars.

Durban is the most exotic city in South Africa. Its sea-front, flanked by beautiful lawns, ornamental gardens, and faced by a

long line of luxury hotels, is matched by the wealth of tropical trees and shrubs which abound within the city. The yellow Cassia, the purple Jacaranda and the scarlet Kaffirboom and Flamboyant, represent the warm brilliance of the tropical south which makes this city the popular holiday centre throughout the year for the whole of Southern Africa. Its wealth of colour is reflected amongst the population, where the proud and stately Zulu, decorated with a profusion of bead work and colourful tribal dress, vies with the brilliant-hued saris of Indian women, the mysterious yashmak of their Muslim sisters, and the gleaming half-naked bodies of the tribal Native. Here indeed Asia and Africa come together, and within a few yards the two continents display their culture and their custom in the Native and Indian markets which lie next to each other. Skins, bead work, medicines and charms are offered alongside the brilliant silks, spices and curries of India, whilst on the pavements squat a medley of tribal Natives drinking kaffir beer and talking a babel of languages. Many tribal costumes are still to be seen, and a few of the women still walk the streets naked to the waist, though the majority, apart from the sari-ed Indians, seem to have adopted some form of Western clothing. The sun, even in the winter, has a tropical heat during the mid-hours, which enhances the vivid colouring of the scene and gives it that exotic brilliance of its characteristic mixture of East and South. The romantic nature of the city was completed for me by the sight, at the end of the Marine Drive, of troops of monkeys swarming amongst the bushes, and one of my greatest delights was to sit on the grass verge by the road playing with them and feeding them.

Durban was founded in 1824 and derives its name from Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who was Governor in the Cape in 1835, when it was decided to build a town. More than a holiday resort, it has become a considerable centre of industry and the seaport for the sugar plantations of Natal. It was these plantations which first provided Durban and Natal with their fundamental social problem of the twentieth century.

In 1860 there was a shortage of labour in the plantations and an

appeal was made to India to supply labourers on an indentured basis to fill the gap. Although they came under service of contract, which placed them in the position of serfs, once they had completed their indenture they were promised the option of remaining as citizens or returning to their native land. From this beginning, together with the Indian traders and merchants who have come to supply their needs, there has developed an Indian population within the Union of 323,000, of whom the vast majority live in Natal and well over 100,000 in Durban itself. It was not thought at first that the immigration of Indians into the Union would present any social difficulties, but the Europeans soon discovered that they had made a mistake. From 1885 up to the present day a series of laws and amendments have been passed to limit and restrict the freedom of the Indians, and all European parties would like to see them repatriated. In 1885 the Transvaal denied all civic rights to them, prohibited their residence except in segregated areas, prevented their owning property, and denied them political rights. In 1891 the Orange Free State banned Indians entirely, and wound up every Indian business within the city at the time of the Act. In 1895 Natal decided to impose a £3 tax on all Indians on the expiry of their indenture, and if payment were not forthcoming, to decree a permanent indenture to a European with the option of imprisonment or deportation. The following year the parliamentary franchise was withdrawn in the same Province. In 1897 it became a criminal offence for an Indian to marry a European woman, and in 1905 and 1906 both the Transvaal and the Cape Colony prohibited Indian immigration. By 1913, all immigration from Asia was totally prohibited throughout the Union, whilst in 1924 Natal removed the right of municipal franchise.

The series of acts restricting Indian movement and rights culminated in the Pegging Act of 1943 and the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946. The former prohibited Indians from residing on or buying land or property in Durban except under permit, and prohibited all sale of European property to Indians. The latter still further restricted the acquisition and occupation of land by Indians, and, as a form of

compensation, offered them a communal franchise on the same basis as the Natives in the Cape. This right of franchise was boycotted by the Indians and abolished by the Nationalist Government.

The Indian problem is somewhat different from that of the other sections of Non-Europeans, in that the Indians come from an ancient and cultured civilization and now have behind them the protection and influence of a powerful nation. At the end of last century and the beginning of the twentieth, Mahatma Gandhi took an active part in the organization of passive resistance, particularly against the provisions of the 1895 re-indenture Act, and his struggle with Smuts formed one of the epics of South African history. Since 1948, the Indians have had the international support of the new Dominions of India and Pakistan, and their traditional political experience and contact with a large and powerful mother nation gives them a confidence and a strength of organization superior to that of other Non-Europeans. On the other hand, there is a widespread suspicion of the Indians amongst other Non-Europeans, who feel that they may succeed in achieving political and social rights independently of the general Non-European struggle. There is also an impression, particularly amongst Africans in Natal, actively fostered by Europeans, that the Indian merchant is the exploiter of his fellow Non-Europeans, and this was one of the main causes of the African-Indian riots of 1949.

The European of Southern Natal is largely English-speaking and British descended, but has a totally different tradition from his brother in the Cape. He symbolizes the arrogance and colour superiority of the nineteenth century imperialist, and on any racial issue can be relied upon to support the Nationalists. He is particularly fearful of the business success and rapidly increasing population of the Indian community, and openly welcomes the Group Areas Act, which, he feels, at least gives him the opportunity of pushing the Indians out of business competition and removing the few wealthy Indians who have presumed to trespass on European residential areas. The Natal Members of Parliament,

even though they may be members of the United Party, are fervent supporters of all the main colour legislation of the Nationalist Government, and do not conceal their hope of using it to suppress Indian pretensions.

Whilst in Durban, I not only stayed at the home of Indians, but also had the opportunity of meeting the leaders of the South African Indian Congress, the main political organization. The first night in the city I met Mr J. R. Singh, secretary of the Congress, with whom I had a most interesting conversation on the problem as seen from the Indian side. The Congress is organized on much the same basis as a British political party, with its various branches and its annual conference as the determinant of policy. I was particularly interested to hear his explanation of the terrible riots between Indians and Africans which startled the world at the beginning of 1949. He pointed out that the riots took place some two months after the Senatorial elections, which were held to elect the Native Representatives to the Union Upper House. During the election campaign, he said, the Nationalists had concentrated upon racial and anti-Indian propaganda amongst the Natives and had spread many stories, which were widely believed, of the exploitation by the Indians in the black market and of Indian interference with Native women. Added to this factor, he suggested that the bad social conditions of the Natives, and particularly their separation within the towns from their wives and families, produced a state of tension which only needed a spark to set off the rioting. Once the rioting started, wild rumours and, he suggested, the instigation of white employers, quickly fanned the flame, and reason was thrown on to the bonfire. He told me that for months thousands of Indians were living in camps on the hills outside the city, but gradually returned and, led by Indian leaders, re-established friendship between the two people. Now, he said, the African National Congress and the Indian National Congress work very closely together and hold joint meetings. They had jointly organized the Protest Day demonstration of June 26th which, he thought, was more than fifty per cent successful in Durban. The authorities, he alleged,

were still trying to divide Indian and African, and the Government was providing fuel to racial explosiveness by such measures as preventing the Technical College from admitting Africans as well as Indians without special permission, and by insisting on separate residential areas for the two communities.

Later I saw in practice the close co-operation of the two Congresses, when the representatives of the Executives of both bodies met me in the office of the Indian Congress. The dominating personality was Dr G. M. Naicker, who is the very epitome of the oriental leader, speaking quietly, sincerely, and deliberately, and holding himself in that controlled, motionless posture behind which one senses a tremendous emotional and intellectual strength. With his greying hair giving evidence of a lifetime of struggle, and his dark countenance occasionally lit by flashes of anger from his eyes as he spoke of the injustice suffered by his people, he answered every one of my questions directly and without equivocation, showing a determination at least equal to that of any of the European leaders. He told me something of the passive resistance campaign of 1946, when the resisters occupied municipal land and moved in crowds illegally over the provincial frontiers. Dr Naicker and other leaders, including the Anglican clergyman, the Rev Michael Scott, were imprisoned as a result of the campaign, but it does not seem to have had the success for which they had hoped. The representatives of these bodies, African and Indian, told me that as a result of June 26th, three hundred Indians and eighty African municipal workers had been dismissed by the City Council, and that about five hundred workers in private industry had also lost their jobs. As they could claim no unemployment benefit, and as the municipal employees lost their houses as well as their jobs, the two Congresses were trying to support them, which was a tremendous strain on their resources. They told me too, of how the experience of the Non-European labourers in the towns was spreading political education to the Reserves as the migratory workers returned to their homes. They claimed that the majority of tribal chiefs are paid by the Government as administrative agents, mainly for tax gathering, and therefore are

controlled by the Government itself. They pointed out something of the opposition of the Natives in the Reserves to the reduction of the stock that represents their only form of wealth which has been carried on by the Government in order to benefit the land, but without consultation with the owners themselves.

They warned me, in this connection, to watch the situation in Witziezhoeck, a forecast which was tragically justified in the riots of December 1950, when fourteen Africans and two European policemen were killed. I was told also of the humiliating pin-pricks they suffer, such as the prohibition against Indian tea-rooms serving Africans, and the instructions to bioscopes to exclude Africans from some films, and they suggested that the two Congresses had learned much from the lessons of the Alexandra bus boycott and of the shanty town movement.

But the most impressive moment came when Dr Naicker's eyes flashed and his face filled with scorn, as he told me that he, as an educated and qualified doctor of long standing, had to have a permit to travel into another Province and another to buy methylated spirits in order to sterilize his instruments.

There seems no doubt to me that the Indians are destined to play a most important role in the Non-European opposition movement, and that, in spite of the suspicions entertained amongst some other Non-Europeans of their intentions, their present leadership is such that it will resist the temptation of power and recognize that whilst it may provide leaders, it is the Africans who must inevitably form the main basis of the movement. As Non-Europeans they have no supply of arms and no likelihood of obtaining such a supply. Mahatma Gandhi's son has already shown in practice the traditional form of Indian protest against discrimination by deliberately entering a public library, reserved for Europeans, and sitting on a seat on Durban railway station marked 'Europeans Only'. The experience and tradition of the Indian method of passive resistance and non-co-operation seems to me to be one of the vital influences in the formation of Non-European policy, whilst the influence and power of the Indian Government, under the leadership of Nehru, is steadily con-

vincing all sections of Non-Europeans that it is to India they must look for their main support in the international world. The main limiting factor of this situation is the appearance of division between Moslems and Hindus amongst the Indian community. This is, in fact, to be seen in all Indian communities in Africa, and has been considerably aggravated by the dissension between India and Pakistan.

There is a widespread belief that the South African Indian is a wealthy trader living a life of comparative luxury and attempting to push the European out of Durban, if not out of Natal. It is true that there are Indians in South Africa who are far wealthier than other Non-Europeans, and it is also true that the Indians, although only representing about 2.5 per cent of the Union, constitute approximately one-third of the population of Durban and about 10 per cent of that of Natal, whilst there are almost as many Indians in Durban as Europeans. The Indians also probably own about one-third of the property of the city, but that wealth is in very few hands. It seemed to me that it was rather the ostentatious display of this wealth by the few rich Indians, than the wealth itself, which offended. But that offence is as great or greater to the mass of Indians and to the Africans than it is to Europeans. The great majority of the Indian population, whether it be in Durban or in Natal, is poverty-stricken and living on the verge of starvation. The health and death rates show a tremendous incidence of wretched social conditions, whilst it is a constant complaint of this community that a very large proportion of its child population does not and cannot obtain any form of education. Well over a quarter of the Indian children in Natal are not at school, although the schools are grossly overcrowded, whilst some idea of the health conditions may be gained from the fact that in 1946, in Durban alone, the death rate from tuberculosis per 100,000 of the population was 255.9 amongst Indians compared with 51.4 for Europeans.

To see something of these conditions I drove out of the town to Cato Manor and Chesterville Native Township. The district of Cato Manor is a terrible and fascinating sight. As I drove through,

the rattling old buses were churning up the dust of the untarred road, whilst hundreds of workers were pouring out of them and making their way across the hillside to their shacks and hovels. By the bus stop, food and various other goods were littered about on the ground, offered for sale in this most primitive of markets. The hillsides, rising steeply on both sides of the dirty little stream which runs beside the road, were littered with the most appalling accumulation of the most elementary forms of Non-European shelter. Once again one saw the collection of bits of wood, corrugated iron, flattened paraffin tins covered with old sacking and bound together with hessian, with an occasional decent stucco house visible in the midst of this shambles. The filth and dust mingled with the gloom as the sun rapidly set behind the hill, and fires were kindled all over the hillsides to keep at bay the sudden chill of the evening and to cook the families' suppers. These are the areas in which the vast majority of the Indians live, along with the Natives, with nothing to distinguish the two peoples or to suggest that most of the Indian community is on a higher social or economic plane than the poorest urban Natives.

But this is not the only type of Non-European housing area in Durban, for one afternoon an African whom I had met in the International Club guided us out of the city along the south coast towards the factory area, where we saw two quite different and separate forms of housing. First we passed a hostel, several stories high, built in red brick and used for men only, greatly resembling a barracks. A little further up the hillside we came to the pleasant new housing scheme known as Lamontville. Here the Superintendent showed us round a model Native location consisting of 692 pleasant little brick or whitewashed houses, each composed of two rooms and a kitchen, of a similar, though smaller, pattern than the typical British council house. Here the municipality is making some effort to provide the Non-European population with decent housing conditions, yet the demand is so terrific that already in that scheme, with less than 700 houses, there is a population of between four and five thousand. The pressure of overcrowding and sub-letting, and the large families living

together, which are the result of the tremendous housing shortage, quickly reduce such pleasant conditions into another slum.

Whilst in Durban I had considerable opportunities of seeing at first hand something of the educational problems of this city. It was obvious when in any Indian district during school hours that a large number of the Indian children of school age are unable to attend school. This was further borne out when I was invited to visit an Indian school in Dartnell Crescent. I was shown over the junior girls' section of the school by the headmistress and, though it was obvious that a great spirit of service imbued the staff, it was equally apparent that overcrowding was a tremendous problem. All rooms, including the central hall and all the cloak-rooms, were used for some class, and sometimes there would be two classes within the one room, whilst when I entered the school I noticed one class having a lesson outside. The headmistress told me that she had a tremendous waiting list but that there was no possibility whatsoever of cramming in a single extra pupil.

Then I went along to the pleasant University buildings to meet there some of the staff, including Miss Florence MacDonald, an English Lecturer who came to Durban many years ago from Scotland, and Kenneth Kirkwood, just returned from Rhodesia. It was here that I learned that in Durban no mixed classes are permitted and the only University facilities granted to Non-Europeans are separate and usually held in the evenings in the nearby Sastri College. This system, of course, puts a great strain on the staff, who have to give lectures in duplicate or triplicate to the different classes and undoubtedly prevents anything like the same educational harmony developing as is to be observed at Cape Town or Witwatersrand.

The other educational experience that I had in Durban was to visit one of the only two branches of the Workers' Educational Association in South Africa. Having known a good deal of this organization in Britain and taken part in many of its activities, I was interested to discover how it managed to work in the atmosphere of the Union. This was of particular interest, in view of the fact that in the W.E.A. monthly journal, *The Highway*, there had

recently been a controversy between a South African Indian and the Secretary of the Durban W.E.A., Dearden Matsen. I met Mr Matsen at his office in the centre of the city, an office which was a complete contrast to the decorous district headquarters I had known in Britain. To find it one had to enter a kind of courtyard surrounded by balconies, climb steps in the interior of the building and then search along the balcony for the appropriate door. So far as I could ascertain, the activities of the W.E.A. in Durban are also in striking contrast to the movement in other parts of the world, for Mr Matsen admitted to me that all his classes were composed of white people, the Europeans refusing to mix with the Non-Europeans. One can imagine the scorn of the British W.E.A. members towards such an interpretation of their fundamental principle of democracy in adult education.

The most vivid impression which I gained while living in this city was of the tremendous contrast of its beauties, of luxury hotels, laid-out gardens and glorious Indian Ocean beach which, whether in the shimmering heat of the noonday sun or under the calm beauty of the full moon, makes the perfect exotic southern picture, and, on the other hand, of the squalor and dirt, misery and overcrowding which characterize the lives of the vast majority of its Non-European inhabitants. It is a similar impression to those produced by all the cities of South Africa, but becomes more vivid amongst the exotic, tropical beauty of Durban. There should, though, be no illusions retained that the oriental appearance of the Indians in Natal separates them from the struggle of other Non-Europeans. Being more politically aware and coming from a great old civilization, they probably feel their disabilities with greater sensitiveness today than the majority of the Africans. Tensions between African and Indian remain and will certainly continue so long as the tremendous differences of wealth within the Indian community exist. Yet ever more Indians are recognizing the identity of their struggle with that of other Non-Europeans and are determined to remain as South Africans and take their full part in the common struggle for human rights. In this situation the common European policy of repatriation is entirely irrelevant.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE AFRICAN CONTINENT, THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE WORLD

IN TWO SUCCESSIVE years I have stood at the rail of one of the graceful Union-Castle liners on a Friday afternoon as she was pulled away from her berth in Cape Town harbour and moved slowly out of the mouth into Table Bay. Here is the first and last view of this hospitable, tense and problematical country, with the huge mass of Table Mountain, overshadowing all the pigmy human beings, growing slowly smaller as we move north through the Bay, saying farewell to Devil's Peak, with its wonderful university site, to Lion's Head, and then to that magnificent range of the Twelve Apostles, stretching right down the coast of the Cape Peninsula. Behind looms the great mountain. Ahead stretches fourteen days of that excellent comfort and kindness which the Union-Castle Line has always shown to me on each of the ships which have been my home.

Standing in the stern, and turning as always to the mountain which dominates the Cape Town scene, it has seemed to me that there is something symbolic about its appearance. It represents that great central problem of an unhappy nation, casts its shadow over all who live under its mass, and dwarfs the little minds of the men who try to master it. South Africa has indeed one of the greatest problems of mankind to face, but so far the problem has dwarfed the man. No South African mind has yet been spacious enough to grasp the total reality of the issue, and face it without equivocation.

It is not generally realized that the South African nation has taken a significance in the world quite out of proportion to the size of its population. The country contains only twelve and a half million people, of whom there are only two and a half million full citizens—the Europeans. Yet her prominence in world affairs might well represent a population of ten times that size.

The fact is due to a number of causes. There was, first of all, the discovery of her rich gold reserves, which gave her a financial importance. Then there was the personality of General Smuts who, after the first world war, assumed for his nation the position of a great power and took upon himself the status of a world statesman. More recently there has developed a strategic importance, in view of the diminishing value of the Mediterranean to the Western world and the key position of South Africa on the alternative route from West to East. And always underlying all these factors is that supremely important significance of the South African nation—the vital issue of her colour policy.

South Africa is such a terribly significant stage. On it is being played out one of those age-old tragi-comic scenes of the human race which so vitally affect the future of thousands of millions of human beings. The great problem of our generation is posed by the division of human society into two political camps, arming themselves to defend their form of political organization against the imposition of the other. Yet even more significant for the future of human society is this other problem, the issue of skin colour, which may yet become linked with that of the political conflict.

When the peoples of Europe expanded out of their closely confined Mediterranean lake five and a half centuries ago, and developed a technology giving them increasing control over other peoples, they settled in all parts of the world. There they have come into contact with peoples of either decaying, stagnant or primitive civilizations. The relation has almost always been that of master and slave, serf or servant, of owner and worker, of exploiter and exploited. Gradually, but very slowly, retarded by the growth of vested interests, the Non-European peoples have absorbed something of that knowledge, organization and power brought to them by their European rulers. They have increasingly rebelled against the conception that the European has an inherent right to govern other peoples, and they have developed a natural common sympathy and unity in their revolt against European domination. Today they identify themselves by the one common

physical characteristic which distinguishes them from their masters. They all have 'coloured', as distinguished from 'white' skins, and consequently the conflict is rapidly becoming one between the white and the coloured peoples.

Yet the fact remains that, in spite of the exploitation, brutality and injustice which have been characteristics of European imperialism, the Europeans have brought to backward countries a degree of technical knowledge and organization, of political thought and institutions, and a conception of law, without which the progress of backward peoples is impossible.

The issue is, therefore, whether the Europeans can adapt themselves to a new relationship of equality of opportunity and harmonious co-operation with those who were their slaves, and whether the Non-European peoples can avoid that egotistical and aggressive nationalism which has brought so much disaster to Europe, and which, in the underdeveloped countries, would destroy the benefits which can be gained from contact with the European community.

South Africa is the supreme test of this issue. The relations between Europeans and Non-Europeans in South Africa are taken by coloured people throughout the world to be the paramount evidence of the intentions of Europeans when in power towards the development of the Non-European peoples. The whole complicated problem of peoples with different skin pigmentation and varying social traditions and educational and cultural backgrounds, living side by side in one society, the problem, in short, of the plural society, gives the South African nation its principal significance.

This significance is not confined to the one nation. It penetrates the whole of the African continent, is vital to the Commonwealth, and ultimately affects the whole human race. The South Africans who still try to maintain that their problems and policies concern only themselves are living in the past. In the world of today every national issue concerns our interdependent world as well as the individual nation, and there is no doubt that a matter such as the colour problem is affecting millions of people outside as well as

inside South Africa. It is just as important an international concern as the spread of Communism or Fascism has ever been, and sooner or later South Africans will have to recognize it as such.

First and foremost South Africa is an important part of the African continent. She is the country with the largest settled population of European descent, and, as such, could be expected, and indeed has always claimed, to give a lead in the development of the relations between white and black. A large part of her white population has made its permanent home in South Africa, has no other home, and has developed a single loyalty to their new nation. Yet, at the same time, the South African whites know that they must always remain a small minority in a continent almost entirely black and that, even in their own country, they will always be smaller in numbers than the Non-Europeans. Ironically, the policy of the Nationalists, who claim to be intent on preserving white civilization, is actually reducing the number of Europeans in the country and increasing the racial disproportion.

The African continent has for long been the sleeping giant of the world. Cut off from centres of human progress by land distances and sea barriers, and by the superstitious belief that the earth was flat, African social and political life has been denied stimulus of contact with other peoples until recent times. It remained largely stagnant and primitive, and has as yet made no major contribution to the development of human knowledge and experience.

Today that position is changing rapidly. The African peoples are absorbing the knowledge and experience of other peoples and preparing to make their own contributions. Their first interest is naturally political, as they search for ways to dispense with European domination and establish their own independent societies. The historical experience of every age shows that either they will gain self-government by consent of the ruling powers or by conflict with them.

This fact is now coming to be recognized in Britain, the strongest of the imperial states. Throughout British Africa constitutional experiments are constantly being made in consultation with the

African peoples themselves, and important results have already been obtained. It is true that such experiments are made in countries where only a small minority of white people have settled for life, and this is an important difference in the influences which shape policy in South Africa and Britain. Nevertheless, the situation in British East and Central Africa is the same in principle as that in the Union, and each is bound to affect the other.

In British Africa the accent today is on developing political rights and responsibilities for the African majority. It is true that this policy, like that adopted towards India since 1945, is due to the combined influences of agitation by the peoples concerned, pressure of new circumstances and the effect of progressive opinion in Britain. Nevertheless, the policy is not a paper policy, but is being put into practice consistently, if gradually.

West Africa shows the most rapid degree of progress, largely because there is here a very slight racial problem. The vast majority of the inhabitants of the Gold Coast and Nigeria are Africans, and though there may be divisions amongst them, coloured division hardly exists. Both of these nations now have their partially democratic constitutions, with every prospect of developing steadily into self-governing states. The rate of progress towards self-government will depend mainly on their own ability to operate their new constitutions successfully, take the necessary responsibility, educate their own people and avoid creating privileged oligarchies. When the time comes for complete self-government they will presumably be given the same choice as India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma, of either standing entirely on their own, or of becoming new Dominions within the Commonwealth. The effect of this policy on the rest of Africa has been very profound, and greatly encouraged the political ambitions of other Africans, whilst giving them a new faith in the policy of the British Colonial Office.

In East Africa political development is at a slower pace, but nevertheless in the same positive direction. The Legislative Council of Uganda has sixteen unofficial members; eight Africans, four Europeans and four Indians. In Kenya there are eleven elected

Europeans on the Legislative Council, five elected Asians, one nominated and one elected Arab, and four Africans, nominated by the Governor after consultation with the African local government bodies. In 1952 an African is to be appointed to the Executive Council. In Tanganyika the Governor's committee has recently suggested that in the new constitution Africans, Indians and Europeans should have equal representation in the future Legislative Council.

It should not be supposed that the full demands of the Africans have been satisfied in any of these territories. Inequality still exists on a wide scale and there is still much discrimination on grounds of colour. Yet the trend of policy is clear and definite, and it is a policy adopted within inter-racial societies.

The situation in the territories immediately north of the Union is somewhat more complex. Southern Rhodesia maintains many forms of discrimination similar to the South African model, and many Africans and also liberal Europeans in this country maintain that there is no difference of principle between the policy of their Government and that of the Union. Certainly there are close similarities in the non-recognition of African trade unions, the prohibition of mixed marriages, the determination to prevent African political progress, the racial segregation, and the operation of the Pass Laws. Yet the situation is not identical. Southern Rhodesia is perhaps at that stage of development that the Cape Colony had reached before the Union of 1909. Its policy might turn either way, and is likely to be influenced by pressures from outside. If she takes the Union road, she may well soon become the sixth province of the Union and accept South African policy. On the other hand, it may be Northern Rhodesia and the Colonial Office which will prove the stronger influence.

When I met Sir Godfrey Huggins in 1951 he left no doubt in my mind that he was very anxious to prevent his country from becoming part of the Union or of being strongly influenced by South African policy. This slight, moustached and very deaf man, with the humorous pale blue eyes, impressed me as obviously the most powerful personality in Southern Rhodesian politics. He

told me of his belief in the young people of his country and their ability to solve the racial problem. He recognizes the dangers which the South African example has for Southern Rhodesia, and publicly asks his people whether they are prepared to condemn their children and grandchildren to the hate of the African. He had to admit that the amendment to the Electoral Act, which raised the financial qualifications for the vote, had been tactlessly introduced, but told me that he would like to see a new educational franchise qualification introduced which would allow poor but well educated Africans the right to vote.

Sir Godfrey certainly impressed me as a leader, and clearly had much personal sincerity. Yet he has to contend with a European population which is certainly prejudiced on the colour question and seems to be increasing in prejudice. I was told by several Africans that they would have some confidence in their future if Sir Godfrey were to be in office for another twenty years, but it is known that he wants to retire, and even he would find it a thankless and very difficult task to adopt a policy of liberalism against the wishes of the majority of the electorate. He might educate them to realities, but he would probably lose power. Once he goes, the situation will become very fluid and open to influences which can only bring increased tension and friction.

Yet when all this has been said, it is still true that the situation in Southern Rhodesia is different from that in the Union. Sir Godfrey said publicly in 1950 that he expected to see African Members of Parliament within twenty-five years. Although the right of franchise has been drastically restricted by the Electoral Amendment of 1951, it is still a fact that a common roll has been preserved, with Africans voting in the same constituencies with Europeans.

The position in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland is very different. Nyasaland is largely agricultural and the urban problems and opportunities have hardly developed there. But the organization of local government brings most Africans into some kind of contact with the ordering of their own affairs, whilst two Africans and one Indian sit on the Legislative Council. White and black

often have a feudal relationship, but there is usually little animosity between races, and although social prejudice and discrimination exist, they do not yet affect anything like as many people as in the more developed territories.

In Northern Rhodesia not only are two Africans on the Legislative Council, but there is a strong and developing African trade union movement on the Copperbelt which has been actively encouraged by the Government against the hostile opposition of white trade unionists. In 1951 I met one of the African Legislative Council members in Lusaka, and the leaders of the African T.U.C. in Nkana. They left me, after considerable discussion, without a shadow of doubt that these men are quite capable of operating democratic machinery and accepting any responsibilities. Already, after only four years, the African Mineworkers' Union is 25,000 strong, with its own paid officials conducting all its business and taking part in industrial negotiations. The African Legislative Council members visited Britain twice during 1951, on one occasion to make an official visit to the Festival.

Again, it must not be thought that in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia the pace of development has satisfied the African people. They fear the influence of the white settlers, particularly in the latter territory, and will oppose at any cost any move which might result in the settlers becoming the rulers of the country. They look to the British Colonial Office to carry out its duties as their protector until they are ready to follow the example of the Gold Coast, and are very suspicious of the change in British policy from 'Paramountcy' of African interests, to 'Trusteeship', and now to 'Partnership' of the races.

Yet again there is a distinct trend towards developing African political rights and offering them responsibilities. When I met that huge, genial man, Roy Welensky, who is the only European politician who counts today in Northern Rhodesia, he told me openly that he does not think that there should be any limit to the political advancement of Africans. Welensky may have difficulty in convincing his fellow settlers of this, particularly as many of them are Afrikaners from the Union, one of whom was elected to

the Legislative Council on a policy of open and avowed 'white supremacy', but, if he is strong and courageous enough in this policy, he will be on the side of reality.

One of the biggest drawbacks to the establishment of confidence between the white and black leaders of the Rhodesias is the persistent inconsistency of the former. Some of them appear to be genuinely liberal in their private opinions but too infrequently have the courage to express liberal opinions in public. Welensky and Huggins are obvious offenders in this respect. Both men recognize the fact that their countries can only develop in a healthy manner on the basis of partnership between the races. Such partnership is only possible if Africans are given increasing responsibilities, and ultimately the policy implies that the Africans will be in majority power. Both Welensky and Huggins realize this fact, and occasionally state some aspect of it publicly, but too frequently they ruin its effect by making slighting references to the Africans designed to please the white settlers. This is a tragedy, for if the two men would consistently state the realistic position which they recognize, it would be found that little difference exists between their ultimate objects and those of the African leaders. This would then permit the bridging of the gulf between the two communities and a joint approach to the immediate problem, that of providing the Africans with an equal opportunity to become 'civilized men'. The danger which threatens both Rhodesias at the moment is that Welensky will allow himself to be placed in the position of representing the ambitions of those white settlers who would like to terminate Colonial Office rule and prevent the African from any further development which might encroach upon the white monopoly, whilst Sir Godfrey Huggins may retire and leave the way open for a parallel policy in Southern Rhodesia.

It may be, of course, that before long these three Central African territories will federate. The main stumbling block is the opposition of the Africans, who see in the proposals an attempt to give the Europeans still greater power, to abolish the Colonial Office connection and to introduce Southern Rhodesian policy.

When I toured the area in 1951 every African I met, from the National Congresses of each country to the chiefs and villagers, were absolutely opposed to federation. They all saw it destroying their chances of following the example of West Africa and all their suspicions were aggravated by the stupid speeches made by the British Members of Parliament who toured the area. This was particularly true of the Labour Members, Stanley Evans and William Coldrick, who, ignorant of Africa and its conditions, simply swallowed all they heard from European settlers and went around after a few days in Africa telling the world that Southern Rhodesian policy is a hundred per cent correct. They did a great disservice to the prestige of the British Labour Party in Africa. Fortunately Jim Griffiths, the Colonial Secretary, showed Africa clearly the policy of the British Government by consulting the African organizations on a footing of equality with those of the Europeans. But if federation is to come it can only be with the consent of the Africans, who will not be content until they are convinced that their political development will continue at a rapid pace, and that they will never be subjected to the rule of their own white settlers.^[12]

It is in this continental setting that we have to consider the policies and attitudes of South Africa. How does the Union fit into this position and what likelihood is there that she can justify her claim to lead the continent?

It must surely be obvious that present Union policy is set directly against the whole trend of that of the rest of Africa. In every British African territory the African is considered as at least entitled to consultation on the future of his country. Even Sir Godfrey Huggins often calls African leaders into his Prime Minister's room for consultation, whilst at the other extreme, in the Gold Coast, Kwame Nkrumah has virtually been established as the first African Prime Minister. This right of consultation, and the eventual political recognition which it implies, is totally opposed to the South African attitude, where Non-Europeans are steadily losing what few political rights they have ever possessed, whilst their protests are ignored. This contrast was never more

clearly exposed than when Dr Malan publicly protested against the operation of the new Gold Coast constitution, and was supported in his view by Mr Strauss, the leader of the United Party. One would have thought that to give Africans control over their own affairs, as was done in the Gold Coast, would have fitted in perfectly with the policy of Apartheid, but Dr Malan thought otherwise, thus exposing the hypocrisy of the Nationalists' claims that their policy is designed to give Non-Europeans self-government.

Nor can it be expected that the South African example will be followed anywhere in the continent. The most likely place would have been in the Rhodesias, but both Huggins and Welensky showed me clearly that one of their main reasons for supporting federation was the fear of South African expansion, either directly or through the increasing numbers of South Africans who are migrating to their countries. It has been considerably increased by the birth of an Afrikaner party in Southern Rhodesia, ironically calling itself the 'Democratic Party'. All the members of this new party have had some connection with the National Party of South Africa, and it maintains the same policy, based on white supremacy. Fear of a spread of South African policy is shown by the vast majority of European settlers throughout British Africa. They have seen how it increases racial tensions, and its effect was obvious in the discussions on federation. The Africans pertinently questioned the worth of the guarantees of their rights when they had seen the fate of the entrenched clauses in South Africa. After that example, the white man will have difficulty in proving that his word can be trusted anywhere in Africa.

To Britain and the Commonwealth, South African policy also represents a direct challenge. Britain still has the responsibility for millions of coloured people in her empire. She has learnt that if conflict and bloodshed are to be avoided she must act in co-operation with these peoples and not attempt to prevent their natural development, whether it be politically, economically, or socially. Above all, she must remove every shred of prejudice and discrimination based on skin colour. This is no easy task, since

deep emotional and economic conflict must be resolved, but a start has been made and the prestige of Britain and her friendship with the colonial peoples depend on the successful continuation of its present policy.

The Seretse issue in Bechuanaland illustrated this vital point. It has always been felt in Britain, and with reason, that the real influence behind the banishment of Seretse and the removal of Tshekedi from his own district, was that of South Africa. Only shortly after the dispute had broken out Dr Malan issued a public warning to Britain on the attitude South Africa would take if Seretse and his white wife were confirmed as rulers of the Bamangwato. The ensuing banishment, and the feeble intrigues of the Commonwealth Relations Office, may have appeased the South Africans, but they have disgraced Britain in the eyes of Non-Europeans all over the world and seriously jeopardized the policy of the Colonial Office.

The question of the demand of the Union for the incorporation of the three Protectorates of Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland, will soon become another similar issue. Several times Dr Malan has made public demands for incorporation, although the inhabitants are completely opposed to the idea. The support of the wishes of these Africans whom we have pledged ourselves to protect is the final test of British faith for the peoples of Africa.

The Commonwealth also sees the position in South Africa as of vital significance to itself. Since 1945 the Commonwealth has been essentially an inter-racial organization based on racial equality. The great new Dominions of India, Pakistan, and Ceylon have become equal partners in this significant experiment in international relations based upon consent, instead of on force or coercion. Yet one of its members still founds its national policy on racial discrimination, whilst the descendants of its Asiatic members are denied political, social, and economic rights in that state. Dr Donges admitted to me that it is becoming increasingly difficult for members of the South African Government to mix in Commonwealth conferences on a basis of equality with the representatives of these Non-European Dominions, and the

regular quarrels between them at the United Nations hardly conduce to the harmony of the Commonwealth. The time may well be near when either South Africa must be expelled from the Commonwealth or the Asiatic states will leave. Certainly Dr Malan showed in the Gold Coast issue that he had no desire to remain a member of a Commonwealth progressively becoming an inter-racial entity. With India, Pakistan, and Ceylon already established as equal members, and the West Indies, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria fast approaching that stage, the choice seems obvious. Either the Union will be expelled, or this vast human experiment in racial harmony will be destroyed.

In the wider international field too, the significance of South African policy is constantly apparent. The United Nations has frequently dealt with the Indian complaint of South African discrimination against Indians in the Union. The proposed round table conferences have just as frequently failed, the last one when the South African Government, after promising that no further discriminatory legislation would be introduced before the meeting, brought in the Group Areas Act, which even the United Party characterized as undiluted cynicism and insulting international behaviour.

The issue of South-West Africa is an even greater challenge to international authority. This territory was part of the German Empire until after the first world war. It was then mandated by the League of Nations to the Union. South Africa claims that when the League was dissolved its authority of mandate disappeared. She has not yet explained how, if this is so, she can now claim any rights over the territory, rights which she held only from the League itself. The United Nations claims that the territory must now become a Trust Territory, with the Union submitting annual reports of her administration and forwarding any petitions from the inhabitants to the Trusteeship Council. This view has been borne out by the International Court of Justice, but still the condition has not been fulfilled, whilst the Union has gone so far in defiance as to arrange elections in South-West Africa for the European inhabitants to elect members

to the Union House of Assembly. Outside complete incorporation, no more defiant action could have been taken. In principle, the challenge to United Nations is as direct as that in Korea.

All over the world the Non-Europeans are closely watching this South African defiance of international authority. The United Nations itself represents through its membership only 34.41 per cent people of European stock, compared with 65.59 per cent Non-Europeans. This is one reason for the obvious dislike which the Nationalists of the Union have shown for the organization. Yet, however much they may dislike it, they are a member state in open defiance to its authority. They can hope for no sympathy in the outside world, for on this issue Russians, British and Americans are united.^[13]

It is not only in directly constitutional matters that the South African nation has become the outcast of the world. What is perhaps equally important is the attitude she displays to the issues by which the world judges her national character. The fact that Eric Holm and Robey Leibrandt, two of the most active South African Nazi agents in the last war, both of whom worked openly for a Nazi victory, have now been released and the former given a post in the South African University, is taken to characterize the South African attitude. The refusal to guarantee the attendance of Non-Europeans to international conferences, like that of the British Medical Association, which causes conferences to be transferred elsewhere, is taken to prove that South Africa is not a fit place for civilized international gatherings. The obscurantist attitude of the Dutch Reformed Church, which condemns modern dancing, quotes the Bible on the subject of the theory of Apartheid, and objects to a museum exhibition which illustrates the theory of evolution, forms another aspect of the South African international character.

Such isolation, and the knowledge that national policy is running directly counter to that of the rest of the world, can only sour the temper of the nation's leaders and drive them to even greater fanatical bitterness. In South Africa I found abundant kindness, courtesy and friendship, sufficient to make me feel that these are

the essential characteristics of the South African people of all races and colours. I particularly felt that these characteristics form an essential part of the proud Afrikaner tradition, yet in every part of the country in which I moved, and amongst all sections of the hundreds of people whom I met, it is these characteristics which are constantly and tragically destroyed by that virulent poison of colour prejudice. Pride is distorted into self-conscious and dogmatic egotism, frequently reinforced by the assumed sanction of divine approval. The South African is so certain that he is in the right that one becomes reluctantly convinced that he believes himself to be of the Chosen People. It is as though the shadow of colour prejudice which dominates all South Africans' minds has become a guilt-complex which must be constantly concealed by loud and dogmatic self-justification. The fear which dominates the nation prohibits any argument on this central factor, yet, without discussion, reason and balance cannot exist. It is, I think, significant, that the South Africans have such a tremendous sense of self-importance and of Puritanical seriousness, that not only do they refuse to argue, but they would consider it a heresy ever to condescend to laugh at themselves.

It would be presumptuous for one individual, after such a short experience in the country, to propound a policy which would at one and the same time face realities and provide an ideal solution. Frankly, I do not see that in the present complicated, tense, and difficult situation, any single policy can possibly provide a solution for South Africa's problems, which are so vitally affected by the mentality and psychology of the people. Yet I think it would be wise if the South African Europeans realized absolutely and completely that the outside world will never accept either their present policy of Apartheid or the less rigid degree of segregation proposed by the United Party. They are an insignificant minority of friendless fanatics fighting against the whole trend of the rest of the world. If they were to succeed it would seriously damage the prospect of world racial peace.

There is one essential condition for the acceptance of any racial policy. It must be accepted by all the communities concerned.

The imposition of law, rule and regulation by one community on the other will never be tolerated.

To my mind, this is the key to the whole South African situation. If the peoples of South Africa concentrated less on drawing up blueprints for the future and more on changing their own and their children's attitudes to the peoples of their different communities, there would be a greater hope for the happiness of the nation. It is only by recognizing the essential unity of the human race that such a change can take place, but without it, the most perfect schemes and programmes will be futile. Unless policies can be discussed between people who feel a friendly disposition to each other and recognize each other's sincerity, no hopeful approach to any form of solution can be made.

In my visit to this fascinating country I developed a sense of sympathy and liking for all sections of the community, which will always make me anxious to return and to play what little part I can in the determination of its important difficulties. The South African nation has a tremendously important opportunity for working out a pattern of racial and group relationships which could be of supreme significance to the whole world. The lessons which South Africa teaches to the rest of us in the relations developed between her five distinct communities will vitally influence the whole future progress of human society. It is for this young nation to decide whether her teaching shall bring understanding, friendship, and harmony, or prejudice, conflict, and disaster to the varying groups which form our world society.

NOTES

[¹] Page 17.

When the last census was taken on May 8th, 1951, the total population of South Africa had reached the figure of 12,646,375. Of this number there were 8,535,341 Natives, 2,643,187 Europeans, 1,102,323 Coloureds, and 365,524 Asiatics.

[²] Page 60.

Yet something of the impracticality of this aspect of Apartheid has already been seen as soon as Durban thought about putting the Group Areas Act into operation. Once the report of the committee set up to make recommendations was published, Durban broke out into uproar. It appears that the Europeans had not realized that if Non-Europeans are to be moved from one area of a town it is probable that they will have to live elsewhere, and equally probable that this will involve moving Europeans. Immediately this was realized the Europeans of Durban made wide and bitter protests, to the accompaniment of the expected opposition of the Indians themselves. Thus the first attempt made to implement the Act, in the most favourable city, has already collapsed in universal protest.

At the same time another aspect of Apartheid is being witnessed in Tongaland. In this purely African area of Tongaland an attempt is being made to take the best land for European settlement. This is perhaps more in accordance with the majority European view of the policy of Apartheid, but it is the direct negation of the idealistic theory which is offered to overseas audiences.

[³] Page 67.

Segregation is also being strictly enforced in cultural activities. The Government has made it clear that grants and subsidies will only be given where there is a guarantee that no functions will be

held in the presence of Europeans and Non-Europeans. Mr J. H. Viljoen, Minister of Education, was reported on January 25th, 1952 as saying that in future the Government would not in any circumstances grant financial aid to the South African Association of Arts unless it enforced strict Apartheid at all times in all its exhibition halls and at all functions. He is quoted as saying, 'We are adamant on our Apartheid policy and unless an organization adheres to it, there will be no subsidy from the State, not a penny.' The result has been that some bodies have enforced segregation for the first time while others are refusing grants.

[4] Page 74.

The final stage of the legal argument began on February 20th, 1952. Four Coloured voters appealed to the Appellate Division of the Bloemfontein Supreme Court to declare the Separate Representation of Voters Act invalid. The verdict is expected in March.

[5] Page 81.

Further progress has been made with this policy in the 1952 session. A Bantu Urban Authorities Act has been introduced by the Government under which local authorities will set up Bantu authorities for Native locations, villages, or other Native areas. As far as possible tribal divisions will be preserved. Various powers will be given to these authorities, on a lesser scale than in the Reserves, but Dr Verwoerd has made it clear that the powers of the white cities and towns over such locations will be preserved.

[6] Page 114.

The basic acceptance by the United Party of the colour attitude of the Nationalists is illustrated again by Mr Strauss' announcement in February 1952 that if the United Party become the Government they will not repeal the Group Areas Act. They would amend it 'to make it workable and equitable', but its principles of segregation in all aspects of national life would be retained by a United Party Government.

[7] Page 126.

Some evidence of the political pressure brought to bear on the Trade Unions may be gained from the report of the Industrial Legislation Commission of Inquiry, published in December 1951. In spite of the fact that 'The evidence presented to the Commission was overwhelmingly against the introduction of legislation compelling the segregation of the various races into separate unions, and the witnesses who advocated the retention of mixed unions included both employers and employees', the Commission recommended that the unions should be compelled to separate. The reason is not hard to find. 'It was pointed out by other witnesses that the policy of the Government was based on Apartheid.'

[8] Page 137.

On January 25th, 1952 the Minister of Justice announced in the House of Assembly that 314 persons had been named under the Suppression of Communism Act. Nine had appealed but no appeal had been successful. Of the total 128 were Non-Europeans.

[9] Page 143.

It is significant to note that in August 1951 the Johannesburg Bar resolved to protest against the appointment of Mr Justice Steyn, a civil servant, to the Bench of the Supreme Court. The Bar decided that its members would not appear before the newly appointed judge during the first twenty-one days on which he sat in the Witwatersrand Local Division.

[10] Page 159.

In 1952 it has become increasingly clear that the South African Government is determined to combat crime by increasing the powers of the police and imposing heavier and more violent sentences. The police have been given increased powers to enter and search, without a warrant, any premises where they believe that a breach of the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act is being committed. If the Criminal Sentences Amendment Bill

becomes law, as it is almost certain to do in 1952, the 'cat' will automatically be given for rape (when the death sentence is not imposed), robbery, assault with intent to commit murder, rape or robbery, or to do grievous bodily harm, breaking or entering premises whether at common law or in contravention of any statute with intent to commit an offence. The maxim that 'violence breeds violence', which has so often been proved correct in South Africa, may well increase in significance.

[¹¹] Page 167.

At the end of January 1952 it was announced that the South African Indian Congress had also adopted this scheme.

In his reply to the African National Congress the Prime Minister, Dr D. F. Malan stated, *inter alia*, 'You will realize, I think, that it is self-contradictory to claim as an inherent right of the Bantu, who differ in many ways from the Europeans, that they should be regarded as not different, especially when it is borne in mind that these differences are permanent and not man-made. If this is a matter of indifference to you and if you do not value your racial characteristics, you cannot in any case dispute the Europeans' right which, in this case, is definitely an inherent right, to take the opposite view and to adopt the necessary measures to preserve their identity as a separate community. It should be understood clearly that the Government will, under no circumstances, entertain the idea of giving administrative or executive or legislative powers, over Europeans or within a European community, to Bantu men and women or to other smaller Non-European groups. The Government has, therefore, no intention of repealing the long-existing laws differentiating between European and Bantu.

[¹²] Page 237.

During the winter months of 1951-2 further developments have taken place in regard to federation. The new British Government, now under a Conservative administration, has given a more definite support to the idea of federation than their predecessors

did. In November they stated clearly that they supported the principle and after consultations with Sir Godfrey Huggins in January 1952, announced that the three governments concerned should submit amendments to the original plan by March 1st and that the conference, adjourned at Victoria Falls in September, would now resume in April instead of July.

Meanwhile the opposition of the Africans has hardened and it is felt by many that the speeding up of the negotiations is designed to present a *fait accompli* against African wishes and before they have had time to organize their resistance.

The contradictory nature of Sir Godfrey Huggins' attitude continues. On the one hand he has described the Victoria Falls conference as a 'Native Benefit Society led by Mr James Griffiths' (former Secretary for the Colonies); on the other he has shocked Southern Rhodesian Europeans by stating that if the two northern territories send Africans to a Federal Parliament, Southern Rhodesia should do likewise, right from the start.

It is perhaps also significant to note that a member of the South African House of Assembly, Mr Sarel Tighy, has introduced a motion calling for the re-opening of the negotiations for the incorporation of the Rhodesias in the Union before federation can take place.

The Prime Minister then warns the Congress of the measures which will be taken to combat its prosed action. 'Should you adhere to your expressed intention of embarking on a campaign of defiance and disobedience to the Government, and should you, in the implementation thereof, incite the Bantu population to defy law and order, the Government will make full use of the machinery at its disposal to quell any disturbances and thereafter deal adequately with those responsible for initiating subversive activities of any nature whatsoever.'

In reply to this statement the Congress wrote a further letter to Dr Malan stating that they have tried all other channels to have the 'unjust racial laws' repealed and will begin the campaign as planned on Van Riebeeck Day, April 6th. They further said that 'We state emphatically that it is our intention to conduct the

campaign in a peaceful manner and any disturbances, if they occur, will not be of our making.'

In discussing this correspondence in the House of Assembly it is interesting to note that the Prime Minister asserted that the Congress depended on friends amongst the liberals in the Opposition and among the nations of UNO. He went on to say that there was a non-White bloc in UNO which made South Africa the fulcrum of a world-wide attempt to gain equality between White and Coloured people everywhere.

It is also significant to note that the Congress has received messages of support from the President of the Federal National Council of Nigeria, the All-India Congress Committee, the Secretary-General of the Arab League, and the Prime Minister of the United Provinces of India.

[¹³] Page 241.

The two disputes between South Africa and the United Nations on the status of South-West Africa and on the treatment of her Indians were continued in the 1951-2 session. The Trusteeship Council even invited representatives of South-West African tribes to present their own case, but they were prevented from doing so by the deliberate refusal of the South African Government to grant them the necessary facilities. They were again represented by Michael Scott. In order to protest against this action of the Trusteeship Committee the South African delegation walked out of the Trusteeship Committee and of the General Assembly.

Once again resolutions condemning the South African attitude to both issues were passed and once again the British delegate abstained from voting, to the wide-spread concern of British people. It is significant though that on this occasion the delegate from the United States took a much stronger line against South Africa than previously. Yet the United Nations have not yet discovered any means of enforcing their resolutions, although opinion in the organization is becoming very hostile to South African defiance.

NOTE ON EFFECT OF SUPREME COURT'S RULING

On March 20th, 1952 the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court declared the Separate Representation of Voters Act to be unconstitutional and therefore invalid. The judgement was taken unanimously by all five judges. It has precipitated the most profound constitutional crisis in the history of the Union.

The position is now that the court's ruling implies that the South Africa Act forms a written constitution and was not abrogated by the Statute of Westminster. Its provisions must be obeyed by every South African Government, and, therefore, any alteration of the franchise rights of Non-Europeans in the Cape or in the equality of the two languages can only be effected by a two-thirds majority of both Houses sitting together. The Nationalists neither have such a majority nor are they likely to obtain one in the foreseeable future. This does not mean, as Dr Malan suggested, that the sovereignty of Parliament is challenged by the courts, but that Government absolutism is ruled out of order. The 'entrenched clauses' of the South Africa Act were expressly designed to prevent succeeding Governments from shuttlecocking these two issues, on which there is such deep division between white South Africans. They are evidence of the recognition by the National Convention of 1908 that white South Africans had not the common standard of political values which makes a written constitution unnecessary in Britain, and that the tradition and usage which have preserved the British constitution had not yet been established in the Union. Without this common outlook checks and balances are essential to a parliamentary system, if it is not to be open to the dangers of autocracy. It is this view which is maintained by the verdict of the Supreme Court.

The effect of this decision upon the political life of the country

will be considerable. The Government may try to introduce an Act to prevent the courts from passing judgement on parliamentary Acts, but such an Act itself would almost certainly be taken to the Supreme Court and declared unconstitutional. As mentioned elsewhere, the suggestion was made by a prominent Nationalist in August 1951 that the Government should dismiss any judge who declared an Act of Parliament to be unconstitutional. In both these cases a bitter conflict between Executive and Judiciary is inevitable.

This conflict will also profoundly affect the political balance. It will greatly deepen the division between Nationalists and their white opponents, for the latter will be fighting for their coloured vote, for political power, for the equality of the English language, and for the rule of law. Both the United Party and the Torch Commando will be considerably encouraged by the situation and may find in it renewed fire and strength.

This deepening split between the Government and the Opposition will also stimulate the more militant Non-Europeans to increase their pressure for political rights. It may allow the more moderate forces to seek to return to their alliance with the United Party, and immediately after the verdict was published the Coloured Peoples' National Union declared that 'much deep animosity against the Europeans has been lifted'. But undoubtedly those who are organizing the campaign of passive resistance will be stimulated by the knowledge that the whites are so deeply divided and many more Non-Europeans will be encouraged to join them.

All the tensions which have shaken the political stability of the Union have thus been tautened. Perhaps above all, it may be slowly recognized that the Nationalist Government, by questioning the validity of the South Africa Act, have in fact questioned the legitimacy of the white Parliament itself, which can only derive its authority from that very Act. It is becoming ever clearer—from the actions of the Government itself—that the ultimate arbiter of 'white supremacy' is sheer force, and this realization can only increase the tempo of the racial conflict which shakes the whole national structure.

INDEX

- Abdurhaman 'Sonny', 147, 200
 Adult Education, 92
 Africa, continental problems, 231 seq.
 Africans, 171 seq.
 Reserves, 171 seq.
 urbanization, 19, 176-7
 ↓ tribalism, 179, 182-3
 Afrikaner Party, 40, 41, 68
 Agriculture, 23
 Apartheid, 28-36, 37, 42, 49, 67, 77,
 80-1, 82, 86, 100-1, 165, 179, 180,
 182, 183, 238, 242
 Arrival, 13

 Ballinger, Mrs M., 122-8
 Ballinger, Senator W., 64, 82, 128-9
 Bokwe, Dr Roseberry, 184-5
 British Policy, 231-3, 238-9
 Broederbond, 42, 45-7

 Cape Coloured vote, 69 seq, 74 seq.
 Cape Town, 14, 228
 Cape Flats, 206, 209-13
 District Six, 206-7
 Windermere, 206-9, 210
 Central African Federation, 236-7
 Christie, J., 125-7
 Churches, 140, 185
 Civil Rights League, 139-40
 Coloured Advisory Council, 48,
 199-200
 Coloured, 15, 166, 189 seq., 206 seq.
 doctors, 190-1, 206
 franchise rights, 201-2
 hospitals, 191, 192
 skollydom, 212-3
 sport, 215
 teachers, 192-4, 206
 tuberculosis, 207-8
 women, 214-15
 Colour Policy, the National Party's,
 37-40
 Colour prejudice, 15, 20, 97, 123, 126,
 238
 Commonwealth, 95, 230, 239-40

 Communism, 60 seq., 127, 129, 131
 seq.
 Constitution, 26, 27, 69 seq., 98, 114

 Dadoo Dr, 64
 Donges, Dr T. E., 30, 92-6, 99
 Durban, 59-60, 217-18, 227
 Cato Manor, 224-5
 Chesterville, 224-6
 Dutch Reformed Church, 93-4, 100,
 140, 241

 Education, Nationalist policy, 66-7
 Eeden, Professor B. I. C. van., 28-30
 Eiselen, W. W. M., 30, 32, 34, 35,
 84-7, 181
 Eybers, Dr G. W., 143
 European standard of living, 21

 Fascism, 45, 99, 101, 123, 241
 Fagan report, 31
 Fort Hare, 185-6

 Gold Coast, 232, 235, 237, 238, 240
 Gold, dependence on, 21, 23
 Golding, C. J., 79, 197-9, 203

 Havenga, N. C., 40, 73-4, 100, 111, 203
 Hertzog, General, 40, 43, 71, 72, 202
 Hofmeyr Jan H., 48, 107-8
 Huggins, Sir Godfrey, 233-6, 237, 238

 Indians, 217 seq.
 discrimination against, 219-20
 education, 226
 history, 218-20
 riots, 221
 wealth and poverty, 224
 Indians and South Africa, 95, 220, 224,
 239-40
 International significance, 228 seq.

 Jansen, Dr E. G., 30, 72, 100-1
 Johannesburg, 59-60, 149 seq.

Johannesburg—*cont.*

Moroka, 153-5, 182

Judiciary, 142

Kane-Berman, L., 122-3

Khama, Seretse and Tshekedi, 238

Khan, Sam, 63, 127, 131 *seq.*

Labour policy, 24, 125-6

Legislation

Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, 105, 219

Bantu Authorities Act, 80-1, 182

Citizenship Act, 51-2

Group Areas Act, 57-60, 94, 165, 169, 220, 240

Immorality Act, 53-5

Mixed Marriages Act, 52-3

Natives Land Act, 171

Population Act, 55-7

Separate Representation of Voters Act, 74 *seq.*

Suppression of Communism Act, 60-4, Amendment, 63-4, 112, 131 *seq.*, 168

Letele, Gladstone, 141, 185-6

Liberalism, 138-42

Louw, E. H., 42, 99, 133

Malan, Professor A. I., 87

Malan, Dr D. F., 35, 41, 42, 43, 44, 71-2, 98-9, 121, 202, 238, 239, 240

Malan, 'Sailor', 78, 120

Makabeni, G., 168-9

Marquard, Leo., 139-40

Matthews, Professor Z. N., 182, 186

Middledrift, 184

Moltke, J. von, 137

Moroka, Dr J. S., 166-7

Naicker, Dr G. M., 64, 222-3

Natal, 217-18

National Party, 37 *seq.*

National poverty, 21

Natives. *See* Africans

Native Representative Council, 47, 48, 81, 106, 181-2

New Order, 45

Non-Europeans

break with whites, 48-50, 142

crime, 162-3, 169-70

education, 21

health, 21

housing, 20

income, 21, 170, 177

liquor, 159-62

pass system, 158, 169, 178

mining, 163-5

resistance, 165-8, 222-3

rural, 100, 147-9

urban life, 151 *seq.*

Non-European Organizations

African National Congress, 79, 165, 166, 167, 168, 180, 204

African Peoples' Organization, 70, 79, 166, 200-2, 204

All African Convention, 79, 180-1, 204

Coloured People's National Union, 79, 195, 197-8, 199, 202

Franchise Action Committee, 79, 166, 198, 204

Indian National Congress, 79, 166, 180, 204, 221-3

Non-European Unity Movement, 79, 194, 195, 196, 199, 203, 204

Teachers' Educational and Professional Association, 193-4

Teachers' League of South Africa, 193-4

Transkeian Organized bodies, 181

Northern Rhodesia, 234-6

Nyasaland, 234-5

Oppenheimer, Harry, 110, 116-17, 120-1, 124

Orlando, 153

Ossewa-Brandwag, 40-2

Parliament

Members of, 82 *seq.*

Party seats, 37, 68-9

party votes, 43

Passports, 64-5

Plessis, Dr Otto du, 45, 90-1

Plessis, Mr du, 87-9

Plural communities, 18, 19

Police methods, 129-31, 157 *seq.*, 169

Population, 17

Pretoria Castle, 14

Protectorates, 239

Rensburg, J. F. van, 41

Republicanism, 42, 44, 98-9, 101

Rhyn, Dr A. J. R. van, 87-8, 186

- Segregation, 14
 Sillitoe, Sir Percy, 135
 Sissulu, W., 166-7
 Smuts, General J. C., 43, 47, 48, 102,
 104 seq., 118, 229
 Society of the Friends of Africa, 138
 Soil erosion, 23, 24, 171-2
 South African Bureau of Racial Affairs,
 28-36, 188
 South African Institute of Race Rela-
 tions, 30, 31, 138
 Southern Rhodesia, 233-6, 237
 South-West Africa, 68, 240-1
 Springbok Legion, 119, 121
 Stellenbosch, 28, 29
 Steyn, Dr Colin, 108-9
 Strauss, J. G. N., 102-4, 111, 117-18,
 238
 Strydom, J. G., 42, 62, 93, 96-100, 101,
 121, 188
 Stuart, W. H., 127
 Swart, C. R., 42, 44, 72, 91-2, 99,
 120-1, 131-2
 Terminology, 11
 Torch Commando, 78, 117, 119 seq.
 Trade Union, 126, 168-9
 Trust Fund, 116-17, 120
 United Nations, 240-1
 United Party, 77-8, 102 seq., 120-2,
 123, 124, 141-2, 221, 238, 242,
 Bill of Rights, 115
 Verwoerd, Dr H. F., 42, 80-1, 87, 101,
 181, 183
 Violence, 103, 129-31, 152-3, 157 seq.
 Welensky, Roy, 235-6, 238
 White supremacy, 18, 25, 26, 113, 116
 Wolheim, Dr O. D., 210, 211, 213
 Zwelitsa, 184

